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NATIONAL REVIEW

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April 11, 1956

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Labor Against the Workers

SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE

Anti-Anti Communism: A Ford Investment?

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

How to Win a Monument

HOLMES ALEXANDER

Articles and Reviews by JOHN CHAMBERLAIN
MORRIE RYSKIND • WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR. • L. BRENT BOZELL
ROY CAMPBELL • CHARLES A. WILLOUGHBY • ROBERT CANTWELL



from WASHINGTON *straight*

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

Chickens to Roost

Democrats are satisfied that the global-giveaway issue which the Republicans exploited so successfully four years ago has been nullified by GOP "me-tooism." Many Republicans as well as Democrats balk at the proposed long-term commitments for projects such as the Aswan dam in Egypt, the Mekong River development in Southeast Asia, and the establishment of a free port at Karachi to serve landlocked Pakistan. A growing bipartisan resistance to huge foreign aid appropriations, strengthened by Secretary Dulles' testimony depreciating the economic challenge of the Soviet Union, improves the prospect for a drastic cut.

Legislative Log-Jam

In the first three months of the second session Congress has acted on only two major bills. The gas bill was passed but met with a Presidential veto. Two widely differing versions of a farm bill have been passed and are now in conference. This legislation is also earmarked for a veto unless congressional generosity is sharply checked in the final revision. Among a score of important measures awaiting consideration are the Bricker Amendment, Taft-Hartley revision, extension of social security, statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, construction of atom-powered merchant shipping and the highway program.

Add Distinguished Lobbyists

Former Congressman Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., son of the late President, is a registered lobbyist for the Dominican Republic. Dictator Trujillo sends Mr. Roosevelt and associates \$5,000 a month "for advice and services."

Primary Look

Emboldened by his Minnesota victory, Senator Kefauver has reappraised his chances in the Florida primary, May 29, and now foresees victory. Kefauver's optimism is said to be based on the following equation: The Florida primary of four years ago, won by Senator Russell, was not a total loss. Kefauver got a few delegates; Russell was far stronger than Stevenson in '52 (Russell won the primary and Stevenson lost the general election). Ergo, Kefauver should win Florida in '56!

New Look in Midwest

GOP spokesmen who formerly denied the existence of a farm revolt or attributed reports of dissatisfaction to Democratic propaganda have been silent since the Minnesota primary. Analysis of the vote disclosed that there were almost 200,000 more ballots cast this year than in 1952, and that the Democratic total exceeded the GOP vote of '52 by more than 130,000. Republican Chairman Hall, with belated zeal, sped three of the Committee's trouble-shooters to the Farm Belt.

Return of Tydings?

Former Senator Tydings, who seeks the Democratic Senatorial nomination in Maryland's May 7 primary, is facing an uphill fight against George P. Mahoney, millionaire contractor. The winner of the primary will oppose Republican Senator John Marshall Butler. Tydings, who was defeated by Butler (and Joe McCarthy) in 1950, is said to deprecate the current support of the friends of Owen Lattimore. Mahoney is the favorite to win the primary; Butler, the election.

Categorical Imperative

Most of the anti-Nixon faction in the GOP has come to accept the premise of hard-boiled realists that it would cost the party more votes to dump Nixon than to renominate him. Indicative of the Vice President's growing favor with the Eisenhower wing of the GOP was his recent warm endorsement by Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey.

"Worthless" Civil Defense

Civil Defense Administrator Val Peterson is under red-hot pressure from a House Government Operations subcommittee to explain why the American public has been provided little, if any, protection against atomic attacks. Some committee members termed the Civil Defense program "worse than nothing at all." Peterson's schemes to date have impressed Congress, but not favorably. They have included "a bomb shelter in every back yard," and "a maze of underground pipelines in which refugees from an air raid could be packed end to end." Peterson has been put on notice that he will be kept on the witness stand until the committee finds out what, if anything, FCDA is doing.



Genghis *and the* Gatekeeper

THOUGH he took scores of fortresses, Mighty Conqueror Genghis Khan met only one wall he could not breach by force.

The Great Wall of China had been built just to keep out those northern barbarians. Tall as a hill and broad enough for six horsemen to ride along abreast, it would be costly beyond reason to storm. The Chinese were complacent.

But complacency is weakness when the enemy is a Genghis Khan. One of the gatekeepers received a secret message: "You shall have gold and high position." It was enough. One night he opened to the Mongol army—and all China fell.

Situations repeat themselves. The current barbarians of the steppes might balk at the cost of a frontal attack. But ours is a free country, and free

countries have many gates. Not big enough for armies, perhaps. But big enough to let secrets out and terrible weapons in.

Who are our gatekeepers? All of us: the voters, the men we elect, and the government officials they appoint. None of us can be complacent about the danger of communism. None of us can forget the price we may have to pay—if a single American in a position of trust is seduced by the promises of communism.

Legend has it that the Khan's first order after entering the gate was that the gatekeeper be put to the sword.

He knew that no traitor can ever be trusted. Perhaps the Russians do too. It's something for our American communists to think about.

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A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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The WEEK

John Foster Dulles has managed to offend another one of our best friends. Shortly after the Communist-tinged Indonesian Government had abrogated its economic and financial treaties with the Netherlands, Dulles, in Jakarta, expressed his "sympathy" with Indonesia. The Dutch Foreign Office expressed itself as "shocked and disappointed." But Dutch resentment may be a reasonable price to pay for the long stride forward in U.S.-Indonesian friendship. "The first evidence of this change" for the better, the *New York Times* reported, "is a more receptive attitude among Indonesian leaders toward economic assistance from the United States Reports from the Indonesian capital now suggest that as a result of Mr. Dulles' assurance the government may be on the point of asking the United States for \$20,000,000 in economic assistance funds" A diplomatic triumph, any way you look at it!

There is some doubt about the quality of Soviet aircraft, but there is no disputing Soviet mastery of the arts of publicity. General Ivan Serov, chief of the Soviet secret police (i.e., the Soviet terror apparatus), arrived at London Airport in a stripped-down military jet. Engineers who observed it saw nothing spectacular. The cabin was not pressurized; even the claimed performance figures were fairly modest; and one English expert commented that the external riveting would not have passed inspection at a British shipyard. No matter. Headlines and large photographs were at once featured throughout the non-Communist world. Excited stories proclaimed that Moscow is five years ahead of the West in jet development. Madison Avenue take note: for this hundred-million-dollar coverage, in all media, the Soviet publicists didn't have to pay one red cent.

The China Lobby, we have it from Mr. Guy Burgess, speaking from Moscow, is responsible for balking United States recognition of Red China. In a statement to the London *Sunday Express*, Burgess lamented the fact that pro-recognition Washington officials had not been strong enough to overcome "the China Lobby" or the "right wing of the Republican Party." To Burgess, to the British Foreign Office and—as he so tantalizingly referred to them—to those "American

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officials in Washington who privately agreed with the British estimate of the situation," Red China deserves recognition for so simple a reason as that "the Chinese People's Government is a government of Chinese people by Chinese people and for Chinese people."

The action of the Catholic bishops in England calling on the government to importune Malenkov on the fate of victims of religious persecution is encouraging. More encouraging still is the success of the rally in Manchester protesting the forthcoming visit of Bulganin and Khrushchev. Organized by Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge, editor of *Punch* (whom we quote below in another connection) the rally took place in Manchester because Mr. Muggeridge could not secure a hall anywhere in London—the result, he implied, of a concerted effort by the government to discourage the protest. Exercising considerable restraint, Mr. Muggeridge characterized Britain's forthcoming honored guests as "seasoned professional terrorists."

So far as the international set is concerned, the United States could save itself a lot of money and trouble as regards matters of subversion and espionage by simply asking British intellectuals whether a given suspect is innocent or guilty. Or better still, since English thinkers tend to find *our* traitors innocent (they tend to hang theirs) we could just wash our hands of the whole messy subject by automatically clearing them all. Some years ago a former British Lord Chief Justice cleared Alger Hiss to the satisfaction of European intellectuals; and now Bertrand Russell does the same for the Rosenbergs. With the currently fashionable side-swipe at the FBI (it "uses tactics made familiar in other [sic] police states such as Nazi Germany and Stalin's [sic] Russia") the doddering Earl clears the Rosenbergs in the following bull: "I have looked into the evidence in the Rosenbergs' trial, [and am] almost certain they were innocent." Thus spake Earl Russell, philosopher, mathematician, and, it is still stoutly contended in some quarters, logician.

In our last issue we described and condemned a bill passed by the Maryland legislature, which, specifically aimed against a Canadian brewing company, would have barred all companies with less than 51 per cent United States ownership from doing business in Maryland. We are happy to record that Governor Theodore McKeldin, in spite of heavy pressure, has vetoed the bill; and we trust that his veto will stick.

F. Schumacher & Co., well-known dealers in wallpapers and textiles, has just "created" (as they say in the trade) a new fabric celebrating the achievements of President Eisenhower. It is a \$3.75 a yard cotton toile, and its pattern features highlights of the

President's career: childhood home in Abilene; West Point; Mrs. Eisenhower's Denver home; Columbia University; Gettysburg farm; "battle flags of conquered nations" (as the official description puts it); the White House; hobbies of golf and painting; various seals and symbols. It comes in ten different color schemes. We do not, of course, want to exaggerate the historical significance of this little creation. So far as we know, purchase is not compulsory.

A Time for Action

At the current rate of expansion, "Russian experts" (as they are usually styled) will soon be the largest occupational class in the Western world. Taking them even today—professional, semipro and amateur; government, military and civilian; academic, journalistic and cracker barrel—they would stretch, if placed in the standard manner, along both tracks of the Trans-Siberian Railroad from Moscow to Vladivostok and back to Lake Baikal.

Just now they are in a state of frenzy over Moscow's anti-Stalin turn. The interpretations and analyses cover the prophetic waterfront, from Cassandra Point to Pollyanna Bay. And if you add the classified to the public studies, you would strain the logical limits of a digital computer.

In relation to Moscow, the Russian experts, especially the government experts, are like the fabled birds that become hypnotized by snakes. The experts are so obsessed by Moscow's unblinking eyes and its weaving, spiraling approach that they can only watch in fascination, quite forgetting that they are not observers but intended victims. This is a drama wherein they—all of us, indeed—are actors as well as spectators; and it is drama in the tragic mode, with death as the ending for one at least of the central protagonists.

A major turn is taking place in Soviet and world Communist policy. We do not know—and no one, not even the Communist leaders themselves, know—all that is involved or exactly what it will lead to. But we do see that for the first time in many years there are repercussions that extend beyond the ruling elite, into the ranks of the Party (both Soviet and international) and sections of the general population. The hold of the regime is in some degree shaken for the moment. That most symptomatic of all social groups, the university student, is stirring publicly for the first time in a generation.

If we behaved not like obsessed, hypnotized birds but like resolute actors in the unfolding drama of history, we would stop babbling endlessly about what the snake is doing, has done and will do to us. We would appreciate his present convulsion as an opening, an opportunity, and we would do something. We

cannot be sure how much our opponent has exposed himself, how far his guard is down. But the only way to find out is to drive in toward the points of weakness. If we stand passively aside, we simply give him the time he needs to recover. If we act, we may widen and maintain the breach.

But is there anything we *can* do? Of course: very much, if only we have the will to do it. As modest beginnings, possible with resources at hand, the following, for example:

1. A full-scale propaganda campaign could be directed at Communists and the Communist youth, inside and outside the Iron Curtain, by all technical means—not only radio, but leaflets, pamphlets, balloons, phonograph records, and so on. A first task of such a campaign would be to review the *full* story of Stalinist infamy—which now, for the first time, would be listened to—and to prove that the present leadership is itself totally implicated in that infamy, and therefore self-condemned.

2. Drawing on the lesson of our failure in the June 1953 East German uprisings, we could use our technical apparatus as the communications system of the dissidents and potential dissidents within the Soviet sphere. We could try to spread throughout the Soviet sphere all news from all sources (including our secret intelligence sources) concerning *every* demonstration or disturbance, so that each dissident will realize that he is not alone, and will derive moral strength from his awareness that many others in many places are with him.

3. We could try to “politicalize” the disturbances and the Party discussion (*itself a disturbance*) by suggesting key political ideas, aims and slogans that are relevant to the present situation. These cannot be decided in the abstract, but must be tested in action. A relevant objective for the Party membership, which could be advanced by slogans together with supporting history and propaganda, might be the *genuine* revival of inner-Party democracy, free discussion, freedom for “tendencies,” etc. In the universities, the right to choose “elective courses” or to form “independent student organizations” might get dynamic response at this stage.

4. It is apparent that most disturbances so far have taken place in the non-Russian regions (Georgia, Azerbaijan, for example), and express the local nationalism that is never far from the surface. Nationalist feeling is still plainer in the captive nations of Eastern Europe. Working closely with the exile groups, it should be possible to give more meaning and direction to this nationalist sentiment, which (whatever its momentary form) is implicitly directed against the oppression of imperial and Bolshevik Moscow. Special measures to establish some direct contact would seem now in order.

5. The deep ideological shock of the anti-Stalin turn provides a natural occasion for moves to induce defections both from the Soviet Union and from Communist Parties in non-Soviet countries.

6. To all potential dissidents, and to the Soviet military, the West could make clear that a genuine, lasting agreement would always be ready for a Kremlin regime that gave up Bolshevism's doctrine and apparatus of world revolution, that released the captive nations to the free decisions of their own citizens, and that entered into normal intercourse with the rest of the world.

Next Step

The Supreme Court has emphatically upheld the constitutionality of the Immunity Act of 1954, and Communist spy William Ullman will go to jail for six months. If he chooses, he can stay out of jail by answering the Justice Department's questions, under a guarantee that, whatever information turns up as the result of his testimony, he is immune from prosecution.

A select few, from among the several hundred Americans who have pleaded the Fifth Amendment in the past ten years, should be hauled up, granted immunity, and questioned about their knowledge of the Soviet conspiracy in this country. If they refuse to cooperate, they should promptly be imprisoned. And they should stay in prison until they elect to purge themselves of the contempt action. For the rest of their days, if need be.

We suggest, as a starter, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, John Abt and Earl Browder.

The Disarmament Reverie

Mr. Harold Stassen is in London for yet another international conference on disarmament, perhaps the thousandth since the days of the Delian Confederacy. He reasons, as most everyone else seems to, that because wars are fought with arms, one has merely to do away with arms to do away with wars. Accordingly, Western statesmen, with the episodic encouragement of the Soviet Union, concentrate their efforts in behalf of peace on plans aimed at physically eliminating, or severely restricting, existing stores of arms.

It seems to us—and as we say this, we are nervously conscious of Vishinsky's callous observation that Western disarmament proposals had kept him up all night laughing—that these propositions, accepted by the West as axiomatic, are ludicrous. Armament is the result of tension. The extent to which a nation is armed reflects the extent to which it is resolved to wage war against other nations, or the extent to

which it feels threatened by other nations. A nation's economy, and a nation's will to expand or to resist expansion by others are the only factors that effectively limit armament. So long as these factors are unaffected, nations will not participate in any convincing international arms strip-tease.

The Soviet Union seeks to force the free world to its knees. To do so, it will either strive for a clear superiority in arms, or it will seek to maneuver any disarmament conference to its relative advantage. As for the United States, it will continue to arm with reference to the striking power of the enemy. These are the central facts of international life today, in the light of which most talk about disarmament must be written off as fetishistic.

Our reliance on disarmament formulae as effective means of securing world peace is dangerous, for reasons too obvious to enumerate. Let it be said, simply, that we have not devised a way to protect ourselves, or anybody else, from an invader except by use of arms; and we have not succeeded in curbing the appetite or redirecting the ambitions of the enemy. Our efforts should aim at the latter objective, which, unrealized, makes undue emphasis on disarmament dangerous.

The Sobeloff Decision

Solicitor-General Sobeloff's decision not to appeal to the Supreme Court an October lower-court ruling on confrontation by witnesses in security proceedings is a major setback for the nation's security program—and, by the same token, a major victory for the managers of the current legal flank attack on the program. What those managers are determined to do is to exclude from security proceedings all evidence supplied by persons who are unwilling to appear and testify in open hearings or court sessions, and so pull the security program's teeth. For they, equally with the government's security officials, know that the FBI and the security offices of the so-called sensitive departments, in apprehending Communists and other subversives, rely heavily upon protected testimony—on the testimony of what our Liberal-dominated press likes to call "secret informers."

The issue involved in the October case was whether the government, in security cases involving a person in private employment, can act upon such testimony. Mr. Sobeloff's decision not to appeal presumably limits the government henceforth, in all such cases, to testimony by witnesses ready and willing to "confront" the accused—and so drastically reduces the program's effectiveness except as regards persons directly employed by the government itself.

It does not, as matters now stand, affect security proceedings against government employees. But the Porters and Fortases will now redouble their efforts to get such a ruling in a routine Civil Service security proceeding—and, given the present climate of opinion, may well succeed in doing so; in which case the San Francisco Court will be able to congratulate itself upon having been instrumental in crippling the entire security program.

Tale of Two Nations

British Conservatives are speaking out about their Prime Minister with increasing candor, yet with remarkably little bitterness. Their quarrel (if Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge's recent statement in the *New Statesman* can be considered as representative) is more with the times than with the man; and hence there is a fatalistic good humor in the way in which it is pursued. The good humor is, perhaps, also



"I can fiddle a damned sight better than you."

(Reproduced by permission of the proprietors of Punch)

traceable to the reassuring knowledge that, surviving the revolt of the masses, there is the critical judgment required to make so telling a diagnosis as Mr. Muggeridge here makes of the plight of the modern leader in the modern world.

"Leadership," writes Mr. Muggeridge, "is always apt, even under universal suffrage . . ."

"Thus, today, we have in Sir Anthony Eden an eminently suitable Prime Minister, conveying as he does so exactly in appearance and in personality, the benevolent intentions and earnest purposes whereby an almost extinct ruling class seeks to protract itself a little longer. His somehow slightly seedy good looks and attire, his ingratiating smile and gestures, the utter nothingness of what he has to say—does it not all provide an outward and visible manifestation of an inward and invisible loss of authority and self-confidence? . . . As has been truly said, he is not only a bore but he bores for England.

"The simple fact is that there is nothing in Sir Anthony either to admire or to abhor. He is just empty of content, like his television appearances in which a flow of banalities is presented in the persuasive manner of an ex-officer trying to sell one a fire extinguisher at the front door. His writings are the same. There is nothing wrong with them except that they are unreadable. One has to fight one's way through them; only dogged determination and a series of pauses to get one's breath for a fresh assault will carry one on to the end. When, as in the case of the recent Washington communiques, President Eisenhower also takes a hand, with Mr. William Clark doubtless putting in the finishing touches, the result is a brew which makes Coca-Cola seem, by comparison, like Imperial Tokay . . .

"None of this is Sir Anthony's fault. He is but a victim of history. The ship of state was already hopelessly water-logged and incapable of responding to the tiller when he took over command. What was there, then, for him to do but to bend his efforts to soothing down the increasingly apprehensive passengers? Like the Republicans in the United States under President Eisenhower's leadership, the Conservatives under his have been unable to find any *raison d'être* except to continue the policies of their opponents. They asked for a leader and were given a public relations officer; here is the news, and this is Anthony Eden reading it."

Mrs. Roosevelt Elucidates

One often wonders how so many non-Communists get entangled with pro-Communist organizations. Here-with the case history of one such entanglement, a very illuminating one.

The indefatigable Mr. Alfred Kohlberg, renowned president, secretary and treasurer of the China Lobby, spotted a picture in the *Daily Worker* of March 2, 1956, of Mr. Royal W. France and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, captioned as follows: "Guest of honor at a cocktail party climaxing the annual convention of the National Lawyers Guild in Detroit was Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, widow of the late President

Franklin D. Roosevelt. She is shown here with Guild executive secretary Royal W. France."

Mr. Kohlberg wrote to Mrs. Roosevelt, curious to know why she had so conspicuously patronized an organization classified as subversive by the Attorney General. Her reply is for the ages:

"Dear Mr. Kohlberg," she wrote, "You might be interested to know that I happened to be attending a meeting in Detroit and knew nothing about the National Lawyers Guild meeting. However, on my way down to my other meeting a gentleman stopped me and asked if I would go in for just a minute to his meeting. I am rather deaf and did not really take in the name of the organization the gentleman represented. I stopped in for a minute at his meeting. Later they sent me a picture and I realized it was the National Lawyers Guild meeting which I had attended . . .

"Very sincerely yours,
"ELEANOR ROOSEVELT."

This letter is not a parody by Westbrook Pegler.

See?

A friend, Professor * * *, who teaches in a major university in the Northwest and has a wonderful eye for irony, sends us, verbatim and without comment, three documents, in order, 1, 2, 3. We publish them, verbatim, and without comment:

1.

NATIONAL REVIEW has a persecution complex. In the first issue it complained that "radical conservatives in this country . . ." are "being suppressed or mutilated by the Liberals." . . . [Italics added.]

—John Fischer, *Harper's*, March 1956

2.

MEMO: TO LIBRARY

FROM: Professor * * *

May I ask you to tell me whether our library gets NATIONAL REVIEW? No. 14 of Vol. 1 is currently off the press. It is a weekly publication, about the size of the *New Republic* and the *Nation* and similar journals. If we don't get it yet, may I learn whether you plan to subscribe to it in the near future?

3.

MEMO: To Professor * * *

FROM: Periodical Division, * * * Library

Re: your request for subscription to NATIONAL REVIEW. We will probably consider it for subscription next week.

In the light of John Fischer's devastating comments on it in this month's *Harper's* (March 1956) I doubt if it will be approved.

In fact, I'm not sure whether you would want it after reading his comments.

The Liberal Line...

WILLMOORE KENDALL

In the course of a typical week, the Liberal propaganda machine's ever-dependable *Washington Post*

— *adopted a line on the new version of the Bricker Amendment*: It is a "shabby substitute for the crippling amendment . . . the Senate previously rejected," and thus constitutes a "threat" calling for "all the opposition the Administration can muster against it." Concretely, it would "narrow the treaty-making power down to the scope of the Federal legislative power," and would, accordingly, "impose restraints which the founding fathers wisely refused to impose." As "custodian of the powers of the Presidency," the *Post* concludes, Eisenhower cannot possibly accept the new version.

— *had a bit of a go at hyperbole over Miss Truman's engagement*: Margaret is one of the nicest girls not merely in the world but in "the entire solar system"; she has come to possess one, at least, of "the attributes of royalty," namely, that of belonging in a sense "to all of us"; her betrothal, accordingly, is "as close to royal romance as we can comfortably come in this classless democracy."

— *scored the Virginia General Assembly*, upon its adjournment, for having passed a "tyrannical" bill depriving Arlington County of its elected school board, and a resolution "setting state policy against racially mixed competition in high school athletics." (Arlington County, home of many a federal bureaucrat, has been out in front of other counties in complying with the desegregation decision.)

— *conceded* that the United States cannot be expected to "bend its entire Asian policy to conform to Mr. Nehru's wishes," but reiterated its view that "the bilateral military pact with Pakistan was a mistake" ("the ill will it engendered [in India, of course] was not worth the effort").

— *welcomed the forthcoming electoral showdown in Oregon* between the "conservative" Douglas McKay

and the "liberal" Senator Morse; conceded that McKay's "turncoat" issue is a "legitimate subject of debate."

— *tied into Civil Service Commission chairman, Philip Young*, because during his term a) appointments have been cleared, by White House order, with the Republican National Committee, and b) "a numbers racket, operated in the name of internal security [has been] . . . allowed to devastate the prestige and morals of the Federal work force"; then compared his recent plea against playing politics with the Civil Service to W. C. Field's "eloquent denunciation of the demon rum."

— *reiterated its recently adopted view that we must discourage "extremists on both sides of the desegregation issue* (especially in the South, of course, where we find an "angry, unreasoning, rebellious challenge to national institutions and to duly constituted authority"); then called for a "White House conference of respected White and Negro leaders who can be counted on to seek pragmatic approaches to justice."

— *plugged the emergent Liberal line on Nixon* (even if Eisenhower does praise him, Nixon's "influence" is "divisive"); then told itself hopefully that the President has made "no public commitment" regarding the Republican candidate for Vice President.

— *proposed* "a sort of NATO domination status for Cyprus, with self-government for the Cypriots under the supervision and responsibility of the treaty organization"; and reminded the British, in view of "American traditions . . . respecting the rights and treatment of colonial peoples," that they cannot reasonably expect the U.S. to endorse their "precipitate step in exiling Archbishop Makarios."

— *congratulated Mr. Dulles* for inviting Nehru and Sukarno to visit the United States, and paved a wee bit of the way for the inevitable Liberal demand that an invitation go to guess who: "The invitations . . . illustrate

that we do not regard blind endorsement of or slavish agreement with American policy as a criterion of hospitality."

— *insisted*, in view of "the hostility reasserted by Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia, and in view of . . . the scattering of offensive arms by the Communists," upon a Yes to Israel's request for arms; predicted that no amount of arms will make "that tiny enclave" defensible; and demanded a "specific declaration by the three Western powers that on the outbreak of war they will intervene decisively"; further demanded congressional approval for such a declaration.

— *plugged* for congressional approval of United States membership in the Office of Trade Cooperation.

— *hoped* that the McClellan Committee (to investigate lobbying and campaign contributions) will "live up to the aims and standards [its chairman] has outlined, because that will make the Committee a "meaningful force for the restoration [!] of prestige to the Senate."

— *swallowed whole-hog* the current Muscovite line to the effect that Stalin was a "demoniac madman" (that is, a different sort of fellow altogether from the present rulers of the Kremlin); warmed to the idea that "the death of Stalin . . . may have released long repressed forces in Russia which are beyond the power of any 'collective leadership' to reharness and control."

— *made perfectly clear* to its readers that it does not wish Lar Daly, the America First candidate for the Presidency, to be given "equal television and radio time" to answer President Eisenhower's announcement speech.

— *took another flier at blackmailing Congress* into substantially increasing foreign aid: "The Soviet campaign to win friends and influence nations will not take time out because this happens to be an election year in the United States."

— *studiously avoided* THE question that wants asking and answering, namely: What policy should the United States adopt toward the Soviet Union and world Communism?

— *confirmed this columnist's general impression* that the editorial page in America has fallen upon evil days.

— *thus had*, unlike NATIONAL REVIEW, no criterion by which to judge American foreign policy in general.

Labor Against the Workers

On the pretext that only compulsory unionism can protect it from "union busting," organized Labor is demanding control over every American worker

SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE

On February 7, a superior court judge in Indianapolis regretfully told 84 employees of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad that he lacked jurisdiction to protect them in their jobs. These men had resigned from various railway unions in protest against compulsory unionism, and had joined the independent United Railroad Operating Crafts. Failing to get this union elected as their bargaining agent, they applied for readmission to their former unions, which refused to accept them and demanded their discharge under the terms of the B & O's union-shop agreements. This act of vengeance—with which the B & O had no choice but to comply—deprived the road of the services of 84 experienced employees, and the men not only of their livelihood but of seniority and pension rights accruing to them from their years of service.

This case is one of several before the courts, brought by workers who object to being forced, as the price of employment, to join a private organization and pay taxes to its directors. One such case, *Hanson v. Union Pacific*, is expected to come before the Supreme Court this month. In this case the Nebraska Supreme Court has ruled that the union-shop provision of the Railway Labor Act violates the First and Fifth Amendments to the federal Constitution, and the fifteen railway labor unions against which the decision was directed are appealing. If the Supreme Court does not evade the constitutional issue, its decision will affect the future of every American worker. It will determine whether or not Congress has the right to permit forced unionization and to delegate the taxing power to organized labor in the form of union dues and assessments.

American workers with the courage to petition the courts for protection of their constitutional rights have arrayed against them the economic and

political power of an organized labor movement which annually collects some half-billion dollars in union dues alone; a movement which has pressured Congress into granting it privileges and immunities that in twenty years have made it the most powerful labor organization in the world.

Protection—Then Privilege

The National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 (known as Labor's Magna Carta) recognized and protected the right of workers to organize. In 1935 a rubber stamp New Deal Congress passed the Wagner Act, which greatly extended the scope and power of unionism. Among other privileges, it permitted the closed and union shops. It also set up the National Labor Relations Board to supervise labor-management disputes in industries engaged in interstate commerce.¹ In the thirties the CIO formed the left wing of the New Deal Party, and its Communist secretary, Lee Pressman, was not only influential in determining labor policy but exercised an effective veto on all government hiring; which probably accounts for the fact that the NLRB was provided with one Communist member, a Communist secretary and a plethora of Communist attorneys, regional directors and examiners whose policy it became never to give the employer a break.

During World War Two, the War Labor Board, in a rather startling departure in public policy, imposed one form or another of compulsory unionism on industry. That is, assuming that patriotism wasn't enough to keep the unions from striking in war time,

the Board offered up the liberty of the individual worker as a bribe to organized labor. Even the bribe wasn't enough, as the Smith-Connally Act attests. The sacrifice of the individual not only failed to insure labor peace, but by turning workers over to the unions as a matter of federal policy, it encouraged the arrogant expectations of organized labor.

By 1947 Labor had succeeded in alienating enough friends that it was unable to prevent the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, even over President Truman's veto. The Act removed the most flagrant inequities of the previous law, in an attempt to give some protection to the rank-and-file worker, the employer and the public. It outlawed closed-shop contracts (under which no worker may be hired who is not a member of the contracting union) but it continued to permit the union-shop contract (under which workers employed by the contracting employer must join the union within a specified time or forfeit their jobs, and of course the seniority and pension rights accruing from them). But it also (Sec. 14b) excluded the union shop in those states where it would come into conflict with laws protecting the worker's right to join or not to join a union.

The benefits reaped by organized labor from federal protection are evident, among other ways, in the increase of union membership from less than four million in 1935 to more than sixteen million by 1952. Not all this increase represented voluntary membership. But neither was it entirely due to the closed or union shop; for by 1951, when Congress amended the Railway Labor Act to permit the union shop, the nonoperating railway unions had already organized 80 per cent of the workers in their crafts.

The increase resulted, rather, from another privilege, known as "majority rule." As Dr. Leo Wolman has written,

¹Federal labor laws are based on the constitutional power of Congress to regulate commerce between the states. There is great confusion, however, over federal and state jurisdiction, since it is often hard to draw the line between intrastate and interstate commerce. This may lead to arbitrary rulings—e.g., an NLRB ruling that a small Idaho firm selling and repairing farm machinery was engaged in interstate commerce.

the labor leaders, encouraged by their phenomenal success,

... conceived unions to be a species of government. As such it was to be expected that unions would rightfully and by law be made the sole and universal representative of all labor.

So Labor demanded, and obtained from Congress, the provision that a union chosen as bargaining agent by a majority of those voting in an NLRB representation election becomes the exclusive bargaining agent of all employees, whether union or non-union. This provision effectively excludes non-union workers from dealing with their employers. Their legal disability and its implications are correctly described in a union brief presented in the famous Santa Fe case:

With this vesting in the collective representative of the bargaining rights of all of the employees in a craft or class of service, the so-called "liberty" or "right" of each individual employee to contract privately for his own terms and conditions of employment has been greatly curtailed if not totally destroyed.

In other words, the non-union worker has been absorbed involuntarily into the bargaining unit and has therefore no will or choice of his own. From this loss of liberty the brief draws an ingenious inference:

Modification of the collective bargaining contract by the statutory collective bargaining representative [the union] is in effect, or comparable to, modification of an individual contract of employment by the employee himself, and, of course, one is not unlawfully deprived of a vested right when he agrees to a modification of his own contract.

This sounds like a pretty clear definition of a union privilege. But the unions shrewdly construe "majority rule" as a privilege enjoyed by non-union workers. They call their non-union captives "free riders" and use their legal disability as one of the main arguments for compulsory unionism—the argument that since they enjoy the benefits of union bargaining, they should be forced to join up and pay union dues and assessments.

Armed with all this power, the unions, you might think, hardly need the union shop to protect them from "union busting." Yet the newly united AFL-CIO has announced a campaign to bring all unorganized workers into

the unions; and an important target of this campaign will be the state right-to-work laws. When the Railway Labor Act was amended in 1951 to permit the union shop, Labor was able to persuade Congress to declare that the amendment superseded these state laws. It is now out to erase Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act; which may help to explain Mr. George Meany's recent announcement to sixty Labor tycoons assembled at Miami that the AFL-CIO plans to collect a "voluntary" contribution of \$1.00 from each of its eighteen million members, to be used for political activity this year.

Object: Monopoly Power

The object, then, of the union oligarchies is monopolistic control of the whole American labor market. They intend to make it impossible for any American worker to earn a living unless he joins a union and remains "in good standing" — that is, unless he pays union dues and assessments and obeys the orders of union officials. And they intend to enforce this monopoly by electing—at the expense of their captive members—state legislators, congressmen and senators, and even Presidents who can be depended upon to do their bidding. They are conducting a perfectly open conspiracy against the liberty of every American who has to earn his living. Their euphemism for this monopolistic power is "union security."

Union officials are surprisingly frank about what they are after. When Mr. George M. Harrison, Grand President of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, appeared on behalf of 21 railway unions to argue for

the union-shop amendment to the Railway Labor Act, he made some significant admissions. Asked whether he thought the union shop would strengthen the unions in industry-wide bargaining, he answered:

No, I do not think it would affect the power of bargaining one way or another. . . . If I get a majority of the employees to vote for my union as the bargaining agent, I have got as much economic power . . . as I will ever have. . . .

Further questioning elicited from Mr. Harrison the fact that what the unions wanted was to be able to collect dues and assessments from those who were not union members, and to obtain "disciplinary power" over them. Just what this meant he made clear to the Senate committee:

SEN. DONNELL: . . . you want to have the disciplinary power over these, at least 280,000 or 350,000 people, whatever that figure may be, who are not now members of the union. . . ?

MR. HARRISON: Not only over those people but over all of our members.

SEN. DONNELL: . . . you want to have disciplinary power over your present membership which you already have?

MR. HARRISON: But not able to exercise because of the voluntary character of the membership. [Italics added.]

(The appetite for power seems to impair the capacity for logical thought: President George Meany of the AFL-CIO is one of the most eloquent enemies of Communist totalitarianism.)

This sinister ambition is a new development in the history of the American labor movement, fostered by Labor's heady triumphs under the New Deal. The revered patriarch of the movement, Samuel Gompers, speaking in El Paso, Texas, in 1924, warned a trade-union audience:

... I want to urge devotion to the fundamentals of human liberty—the principles of voluntarism. No lasting gain has ever come from compulsion. If we seek to force, we but tear apart that which, united, is invincible.

There are labor leaders today who echo this thought. Warren S. Stone, a past Grand Chief Engineer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, has said:

I do not believe in forcing a man to join a union. . . . It is contrary to the principles of free government and the Constitution of the United States to try to make him join. We of the engineers work willingly side by side with other engineers every day who



do not belong to our union, though they enjoy without any objection on our part the advantages we have obtained. Some of them we would not have in the union; others we cannot get.

And the present Grand Chief of the Brotherhood, asked in an interview with *U.S. News and World Report* whether his organization had sought the union shop, answered:

Not only did we not ask for it, the BLE was the only labor organization I know of which opposed it as a matter of policy Engineers just simply resent being told that they must join something. We still think that labor in the long run has a good enough product that you won't have to force men to join. . . .

These views have become rare in the American labor movement. They may also be rare in the British labor movement, but they are backed by no less an authority than Charles Geddes, Chairman of the British Trade Union Congress (and our ambitious Labor tycoons might do worse than heed him):

I do not believe the trade union movement in Great Britain can live for very much longer on the basis of compulsion. . . . Most people belong to us or starve whether they like our policies or not I believe the trade union card is an honor to be conferred not a badge which signifies that you have got to do something whether you like it or not

If American labor is to win its fight for compulsory unionism, our constitutional safeguards of liberty and property will have to be nullified by Supreme Court decision. Will the Court, under pressure from Labor and its Liberal supporters in and out of government, disregard these constitutional guarantees? To do so, it must reverse its previous pronouncements on the right to work—for example, this one:

There cannot be wrung from a constitutional right of workers to assemble to discuss improvement of their own working standards, a further constitutional right to drive from remunerative employment all other persons who will not or cannot participate in union assemblies. . . .

And this:

Insofar as a man is deprived of the right to labor his liberty is restricted, his capacity to earn wages and acquire property is lessened, and he is denied the protection which the law affords those who are permitted to work.

Liberty means more than freedom from servitude, and the constitutional guarantee [Fourteenth Amendment] is an assurance that the citizen shall be protected in the right to use his powers of mind and body in any lawful calling.

These and similar pronouncements place the Court far ahead of Congress in its recognition of the meaning of individual liberty and its constitutional safeguards. There is reason, therefore, to hope that when the Court is faced with deciding whether or not Congress acted unconstitutionally in permitting the union shop, it will uphold liberty instead of Labor.

The Danger of Compulsion

One often hears the argument from union sympathizers that since Congress has made the union shop merely *permissive*, the federal laws involve no compulsion. The answer is that for a powerful labor oligarchy armed with congressional sanction of compulsory unionism and operating through industry-wide unions, the sanction is sufficient. The rest can be accomplished through threats of stoppage, and through the tactics of discrimination and violence with which certain unions—most conspicuously the Teamsters and the International Longshoremen's Association—have made the American public familiar.

These tactics are employed equally against recalcitrant workers and reluctant employers. The unions have the resources to finance long and ruinous strikes—*vide* the recent strike at Westinghouse—and the union bosses have shown a callous indifference to the losses and hardships suffered by their striking members. The employers, on the other hand, especially the great industrial corporations, have to consider not only the loss to their stockholders from long industry-wide stoppages, frequently attended by violence, but also the inconvenience to the public—toward whose interest organized labor appears indifferent. It is significant that after the amendment of the Railway Labor Act the railways, almost without exception, accepted the union shop, even though it involved forcing employees with long records of loyal service to choose between joining the unions and losing their jobs, with the seniority and pension rights gained over the years.

As for the worker who resists union

demands, he must be prepared for such delicate attentions as harassment of his family, bombing of his home, mauling of his person—even the loss of his life. The records of congressional hearings are full of appalling instances of this kind of union "persuasion." And it is by no means used only against non-union workers. The union man, for example, who attempts to replace his union officials, however peacefully, lays himself open to expulsion and even mayhem.

Violence aside, workers who resist the union shop by forming independent organizations risk permanent exclusion from their jobs if they fail to win NLRB elections against the established unions.

The fight for compulsory unionism is an object lesson in the behavior of pressure groups whose appetite for power grows by what it feeds on. A weak labor movement, fighting for its life against hostile employers and yellow dog contracts, wins congressional recognition of the workers' right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing. But as it gains strength it demands, and obtains, not rights but privileges, until at last it comes to regard itself as a government within a government, and stretches out its hand to control the whole economic and political life of a great nation.

But the more arrogant it becomes, the more numerous and determined become the forces which resist its ambition. Other pressure groups are coming to the fore against union aggression—e.g., the Farm Bureau Federation. And the states—eighteen so far—are adopting laws to protect labor from a "discipline" which cannot be exercised against a voluntary membership. Above all, union members such as the 84 B & O workers are leaving their unions in disgust and risking vengeance in attempts to bargain through voluntarily chosen representatives. This is significant; for it proves that in the decision whether a great society is to continue to permit an organized pressure group to disrupt its economy and mulct its industries at will, the group's officials cannot be sure of keeping its own members in line. In the end Samuel Gompers may have the last word: "No lasting gain has ever come from compulsion. If we seek to force, we but tear apart that which, united, is invincible."

NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

In Washington, the news from Minnesota was bad news. But Democrats, initially horrified by reports of the Kefauver sweep, quickly saw the brighter side. For one thing, Party leaders and organization men reviewed original estimates of Kefauver's prospects, found they still held: the Tennessean, for all his popular strength, cannot capture the nomination (though some Democratic senators, who share that body's low regard for Kefauver, appreciate the advantages of voting for a proved vote-getter as a Presidential candidate). For another, the Democrats as a Party did mighty well in Minnesota. For a third, Democrats suddenly realized they have a strong and thoroughly acceptable Presidential candidate on their hands.

The big winner in Minnesota was Stuart Symington. With Stevenson out, Harriman intolerable to the South, Lausche intolerable to the organized North, Kefauver intolerable to everybody, and with Johnson lacking both health and sufficient prominence, Senator Symington has the inside track to the nomination.

Besides looking good through the process of elimination, Missouri's Junior Senator has a number of solid assets. He is an attractive and effective campaigner, and his name is relatively well-known to the public (only Stevenson's and Kefauver's are more so). As former Secretary for Air, Symington can claim an association with Truman (on the white-collar level), and that he has had experience in the Executive Branch. As to the major issues, Symington is uncommitted on enforcement of integration, and as an inactive candidate will be able to remain so. His views on farm policy (high, fixed supports) are sound in the eyes of most Democrats and, apparently, of most farmers. Most important: Symington is the leading Senate critic of U.S. defense policies — which loom as the principal target for Democratic fire in the days ahead.

A second look at the Minnesota returns has not, however, abated Republican gloom. Only a better showing in future state primaries will do

that. The significance of the small vote for President Eisenhower has been greatly underplayed and GOP organization men know it. The total Republican vote was only two-thirds that given the GOP in the 1952 primary. But Democrats improved their 1952 showing spectacularly.

The poor Republican turnout can be attributed, in part, to lack of interest in an uncontested race. This factor does not begin to explain the huge discrepancy between Democratic and Republican totals: "Interest," the professionals point out, "is contagious during a hot contest, and is likely to be reflected in the uncontested primary as well as in the contested one. Nor do the professionals, in their private estimates, take seriously the claim by the Stevenson camp (which, for public consumption, the GOP has encouraged) that Eisenhower supporters crossed Party lines in droves in order to help fell the most dangerous Democratic challenger to the President. They know that such Machiavellian tactics presuppose organization; and there is no evidence that the alleged "invasion" was premeditated at any organizational level. If it had been, the politicians reason, the Democrats would have got wind of it and Hubert Humphrey would have been screaming about "a conspiracy" before the votes were counted.

This makes the second GOP farm state defeat in as many tries. The first was the Democratic sweep in last fall's mayoralty contest in Indiana, which — as this column reported at the time — was a bellwether of the farm vote.

There is a brand new State Department line (for some purposes, at any rate) about who ran the Korean War. But before we catch up with the times, let us recall the old line, the one that (for some purposes) has been repudiated. Harry Truman stated it in his *Memoirs*, and many other times:

We were in Korea in the name and on behalf of the United Nations. The "unified command" which I entrusted to Douglas MacArthur was a United Nations command and neither he nor

I would have been justified if we had gone beyond the mission that the United Nations General Assembly had given us. . . . The Joint Chiefs of Staff [for example] . . . were of the opinion that [the question of] . . . an attack [on Manchurian bases] should be a United Nations decision, since it exceeded the terms of the resolution under which the UN forces were operating. [Emphasis mine.]

The revised version is set forth in a letter of January 11, 1956, written on behalf of Secretary Dulles by Assistant Secretary Francis O. Wilcox:

. . . From the outset, command of the forces resisting the aggressors in Korea was exercised by the Government of the United States. The decisions of that command were made by our Government, and the United Nations command in Korea received its orders exclusively from our Government through the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Neither the United States Government nor the military command in Korea ever received any orders from the United Nations concerning conduct of the Korean war effort. . . .

Was the State Department, in this instance, rallying to the defense of General MacArthur on the issue whether his hands had been tied by the UN? Not precisely: the question to which Mr. Wilcox addressed himself was, Who bears responsibility — the U. S. or the UN — for the fate of 463 American servicemen who are unaccounted for three years after the Korean Armistice, and who are believed to be prisoners of the Chinese Communists? After hinting at the Department's answer in the passage quoted above, Mr. Wilcox applied the clincher:

The United States soldiers and other United States military personnel in Korea have at all times remained under the command of the United States, and of the President as Commander in Chief. At no time have our military personnel been in any sense employees of the United Nations. They fought always under the United States flag. Where the United States commanders in Korea flew the United Nations flag in addition to our own, they did so to symbolize the fact that the United States exercised the Unified Command. [!]

The State Department letter was an attempt to fend off efforts of the prisoners' parents and other kin to hold the UN legally responsible for the abandonment of soldiers fighting under

(Continued on p. 18)

Fireside Propaganda

With State Department approval, the American TV public will shortly be treated to a series of films depicting life in the USSR—à la Potemkin

CHARLES A. WILLOUGHBY

Nearly all the anecdotes attributed to the Russian Field Marshal Potemkin are fictitious (especially the crop developed by Helbig in the journal, *Minerva*). But there is solid truth in the story of the deception practiced by the unscrupulous (and able) administrator, when he created stage-prop villages and settlements to be viewed by Empress Catherine II as she went on an inspection trip. This story is entirely plausible because it is so Russian. These props were the original Russian "fronts." They are today the standard techniques of all bureaucratic Potemkins—except that today it is done with statistical graphs and departmental annual reports.

The most modern variations of this picaresque theme are found in what is called "psychological warfare," i.e., every kind of official deception from false rumors to false statistics, leaflet inundations, radio jamming, the cackling of front organizations, and outright political and diplomatic lies. The counter-intelligence services are normally involved in this game, while the various "information agencies" remain in the more genteel twilight zone of "cultural persuasion."

In the meantime, the smile of Geneva has again changed into the familiar death's-head grin. We may well accept that we cannot really get behind the Iron Curtain: barbed wire, land mines and machine-guns are very effective barriers (except for desperate fugitives). Inside Russia, there is the iron discipline of hardcore Communists and the murderous efficiency of the police state. Radio Free Europe and the "Voice" chatter away with more or less spurious Western arguments and a tainted "liberalism" that is absolutely incomprehensible to the sullen victims of Communist coups d'état. The "planners" would give their eyeteeth really to "get

across" to the Russians; for example, with films, documentaries and television programs.

Running true to form, the U.S. is about to accommodate the Communists with smooth, easy and gratuitous access to the eyes and minds of millions of American TV viewers. The U.S. is about to realize the wildest dreams of Communist propagandists! The weekly *TV Guide* gleefully advertised programs to bring Russia to the American fireside: "WPIX 11: *Red Russia Uncensored. Filmed behind the Iron Curtain within the last six weeks.*" Another network proudly announced (with the assistance of the State Department!) that it is proceeding in Russia with something similar to its recent program, "Assignment India," which warmed the hearts of Krishna Menon and Chester Bowles.

These U. S. Potemkins will picture a Russia that, of course, is to be censored by the Communist press control. The secret Soviet police will manipulate precisely what can be seen

and photographed. The usual clichés of the Soviets will be shown—their isolated showpieces—the university towers, the baroque Moscow subway, the smiling mill-workers, the decorated Stakhanovites, the demure schoolgirls—every smile, every gesture carefully designed to impress the American viewer with the absolute normalcy of life behind the Iron Curtain. Just as Empress Catherine saw only the façades of fake villages along the Volga. Just as Wallace was escorted past camouflaged slave camps in Siberia and was shown Potemkin frontier settlements that impressed the Guru as something straight from the pioneering American West.

While tax-paid millions are flung into the Soviet ether, only to bray into jammed radio channels, and RFE leaflets flutter in the breezes with shotgun blasts waiting for those who pick them up, the most effective information medium of modern propaganda is now set in motion, absolutely free, to display Communist Potemkin villages on the TV screens of America.



Anti-Anti-Communism: A Ford Investment

The Ford Foundation's public handwashing and its huge gifts to genuine charity do not alter the fact that it supports political activities

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

The recent gigantic grants by the Ford Foundation for educational and medical purposes have impressed Americans. But it is questionable whether this constructive action by the Foundation offset the capricious use for political purposes of \$15 million by the Fund for the Republic. As the parent of the Fund and grantor of the \$15 million, the Ford Foundation cannot deny all responsibility for the actions of the Fund for the Republic. It must be assumed that the Foundation, when it turned over the money to Robert M. Hutchins, knew his long anti-anti-Communist record; ergo that it intended, and considered it desirable, to support anti-anti-Communism.

The proposition would seem to make no sense, politically or economically. And yet, there is the double evidence of the Fund for the Republic and the Foreign Policy Association. The latter organization has been a beneficiary of Ford largesse in the past. Its president, John W. Nason, is reported to be hopefully expectant of a grant of twelve and a half million dollars to help finance its next Five Year Plan.

The Fund for the Republic was endowed with a handsome fortune and turned loose on the world without any control by the parent Ford Foundation. Then it began to spend its substance lavishly on such projects as preparing a bibliography of Communist literature from which much effective anti-Communist material was omitted, and offering testimonial grants to organizations employing individuals who boggled at taking loyalty oaths.

In the case of the Foreign Policy Association the Ford Foundation cannot reasonably claim that it is giving twelve and a half million dollars without knowing what it is buying. For there is a record — in publications of

the FPA and in writings of persons associated with it — to indicate that its general influence on American public opinion has been in the direction of anti-anti-Communism. (It is a pity that such an awkward term is necessary; but nothing else seems adequately to describe the state of mind that virtuously repudiates any sympathy with Communism, but consistently sees more danger in anti-Communism.)

The Foreign Policy Association came into existence after World War One for the purpose of stimulating interest in foreign affairs. Branches were established in many cities. Weekly discussion luncheons were held, with speakers presenting divergent views on foreign policy issues. The central organization of the Association, in New York, maintained a research department, issued a bulletin with comment on foreign affairs, published and sponsored pamphlets.

There are 68 cooperating World Affairs Councils and local FPAs, stretching from Maine to Honolulu, from Seattle to New Orleans. Six hundred college International Relations clubs became affiliated with the FPA in 1954. Five regional offices have been set up in New York, Cleveland, St. Louis, San Francisco and New Orleans.

In 1952-53 the FPA raised \$159,573 from individuals, corporations and small foundations. This sum increased to \$221,008 in 1954-55. The current budget plan calls for \$242,252. Funds raised for the local budgets of World Affairs Councils and FPAs increased from \$434,000 in 1952 to \$843,000 in 1955.

One of the latest projects of the FPA is to promote discussions by its local organizations of ten issues which are likely to lead to critical decisions

by the U.S. Among these decisions are "What can the United States do about Germany in Europe?" "How should the United States deal with China?" "What role should the United States play in the new United Nations?" The attitude of the FPA toward these and related subjects is indicated in the analysis of articles in its *Foreign Policy Bulletin*, presented later in this article.

The Cards Were Stacked

Like most organizations concerned with foreign affairs the FPA, although formally nonpartisan, was inclined to favor liberal and international rather than conservative and nationalist positions. The climate of opinion at its meetings was favorable to the League of Nations and, while this was still an issue, to recognition of the Soviet Union. Although most of its discussions were arranged fairly enough, I recall one occasion in Boston when the cards were very clearly stacked. The time of this meeting was January 1945; and what had been proposed was a presentation of conflicting Soviet and Polish viewpoints. The proposed speakers were Vladimir Kazakevich, a Russian economist with a completely pro-Communist viewpoint, and Professor O. Halecki, a distinguished Polish historical scholar.

Kazakevich's views on freedom of discussion were of the orthodox Stalinist type: he refused to share a platform with a Polish nationalist. The chairman of the Foreign Policy Association in Boston at that time was one Judge Lawrence Brooks. Perhaps because he was a member of the notorious Council of American-Soviet Friendship (later on the Attorney General's list of subversive organiza-

tions), this jurist showed a lamentable lack of judicial objectivity in this case. He meekly accepted Kazakevich's dictation, withdrew the invitation of Halecki and obtained as a substitute a foreign correspondent named Edmund Stevens whose attitude at that time (he has passed through several metamorphoses of outlook) was not to censure Soviet conduct in Poland or anywhere else.

As a result, the audience received from the two principal speakers no intimation that the Soviet Union was mutilating Poland territorially and robbing it of national independence; and that the Soviet political police had deported hundreds of thousands of Poles to slave labor camps and had deliberately murdered some fifteen thousand Polish officers in the Katyn Forest and in prison camps.

This instance of gross pro-Soviet bias might charitably be charged to the readiness of certain patriotic Americans to put on a pair of blinkers and see, hear and think no evil of the Soviet Union for the duration of the war. But this explanation will scarcely apply to the anti-anti-Communist trend which one finds in the FPA's fortnightly *Foreign Policy Bulletin* since the war—and up to today.

World Turned Upside Down

Principal incarnation of this trend is Russian-born, American-educated Vera Micheles Dean, for many years research director of the FPA, and up to the present time editor of, and most frequent contributor to, the *Bulletin*. With such selected occasional collaborators as Professor Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. (*éminence grise* of the ADA), James P. Warburg (earnest advocate of a neutralized Germany) and Chester Bowles (former Ambassador to India and indefatigable plugger of American giveaway programs for the uncommitted neutralist states of Asia), Mrs. Dean has given to the *Bulletin*, over a period of a decade and more, the unmistakable stamp of anti-anti-Communism. (A veteran American diplomat of considerable Asian experience once expressed this judgment of Chester Bowles: "Bowles is to Nehru what Joe Davies was to Joe Stalin.")

The genus anti-anti-Communist has these eight distinctive traits: 1) A strong American guilt complex; 2) A

conviction that, while Communism is undesirable, the real enemy is militant anti-Communism; 3) Extreme deference to the views of Nehru and other "uncommitted" and unfriendly neutrals; 4) A desire to lean heavily, in difficult situations, on that weak reed, the UN; 5) As regards Soviet Communism, an attitude of minimizing its threat to U. S. security; 6) A pathological fear of losing alleged friends in Europe and Asia by any strong, clear-cut action against Communist expansion; 7) A belief that the American taxpayer owes a living to the "underprivileged" nations of the world; 8) A conviction that only old-fashioned prejudice accounts for our objections to admitting Red China to the United Nations.

A careful study of FPA literature and of the writings of Mrs. Dean shows a pattern compounded of the foregoing ideas, repeating itself again and again, whether the subject under discussion is resistance to Communist aggression in Korea, support of the Chinese Nationalist Government in Formosa, rearming of West Germany, or setting up American air and naval bases in Spain.

Take Point One, the guilt complex. Some Americans may have felt that such Soviet actions as the enslavement of one hundred million people outside the ethnic boundaries of the Soviet Union, the Communist incitement to disorder and civil war in countries outside the Soviet imperial grip, were the main causes of the international tension. Not so, according to Mrs. Dean. America is the true culprit:

If we are really honest with ourselves we cannot escape the conclusion that since V-J Day our economic withdrawal, our naked materialism as exemplified by our attitude toward the feeding of starving peoples, our political vacillations and, above all, our moral negativism, have done more to keep the world in turmoil than Russia's actions. [*Bulletin*, March 8, 1946.]

This, like many other passages in Mrs. Dean's collected works, makes one rub his eyes and wonder whether the author is writing about a world of actuality. For it is, of course, a matter of record that the U.S. spent an unprecedented amount of money on feeding hungry and starving peoples after World War Two and that it gave away tens of billions of dollars for

building up war-wrecked economies even faster than the Soviet Union looted its part of Germany and the satellite countries.

In her attempt to build up an American guilt complex, Mrs. Dean sometimes resorts to the device of invoking the authority of anonymous "friends" of this country, who disapprove of all the anti-Communist features of its foreign policy. These "friends" are made to carry the ball for the author's own anti-anti-Communist views in her article, "Ends and Means in World Affairs," published in the *Foreign Policy Bulletin* of October 15, 1953:

Any indication of rigidity on the part of the United States makes our friends abroad fear that the Eisenhower Administration may miss an historic opportunity to ease global tensions. . . . Our friends, for their part, are so preoccupied with internal problems and with fear of another war . . .

Even those of our friends abroad who understand and deeply sympathize with us in our losses nevertheless ask whether some of the methods the United States is now using will actually achieve the objective of stabilizing the world and thereby safeguarding the country from future experiences like that of Korea. . . . Over the long run, is it not possible, they [these much cited "friends"] say, that the United States may be storing up new problems for the future? Are Americans certain that Dr. Adenauer's West Germany is a genuine democracy, which will not threaten France and Russia as Kaiser and Hitler Germany did in the past? Will the aid of General Franco lose us more in terms of moral support among those who believe in Democracy than we can gain in terms of bases?

And so on, with two more references to unnamed "friends" in this short article. No doubt there are individuals abroad who hold the views mentioned by Mrs. Dean—Communist, fellow-traveling and neutralist publications are full of their contributions. But it seems highly questionable whether they can properly be called friends of the U.S.

Another anti-anti-Communist debating trick is to try to divert attention from the real threat of Soviet and Red Chinese imperialism by conjuring up an imaginary threat from Germany and Japan. In her book, *Foreign Policy Without Fear* (McGraw-Hill, 1953) Mrs. Dean speaks

on Page 129 of the necessity of so acting "that the Russians will no longer have a legitimate fear of another 1914 or 1941, of new German threats to Moscow and Stalingrad." On Page 131 she refers to the "need of China and Russia for safeguards against the revival of a militant Japan."

Again one is amazed at the upside-down world in which the anti-anti-Communist lives. The realities of contemporary military power would surely indicate that the German Federal Republic, even if and when its paper army becomes a genuine army, will be at a hopeless military disadvantage, compared with the Soviet empire, and that it is Japan that needs safeguards against Red China.

Mr. Bowles Adds His Bit

Chester Bowles, in a contribution to the *Foreign Policy Bulletin* of April 15, 1952, entitled "Ten Point Program for the United States in Asia," qualifies as an anti-anti-Communist on Points 2, 3 and 5:

Nehru stands as the strongest individual anti-Communist force in Asia.

Above all, resist the temptation to think on a purely anti-Communist basis.

We cannot kill the Communist idea with machine-guns. We can meet Communism successfully only with a better idea.

This conception of Communism, not peculiar to Mr. Bowles (as an abstract idea, which cannot be met successfully with anything so crude and vulgar as force), recalls a favorite epigram of H. L. Mencken: "The boob is a bird that knows no closed season."

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., begins a contribution (entitled "Is Our Asian Policy Wrong?") disarmingly: "I know nothing about Asia"; and then he qualifies for the anti-anti-Communist club on Points 2, 4 and 8:

There is, in my judgment, no political future in Chiang Kai-shek. Should stabilization approach in the Far East, Formosa should be placed under the UN and Chiang should go into honorable retirement at the Waldorf-Astoria. . . . We should not exclude the possibility, once Communist China is purged of the taint of its present aggression, of its admission to the UN.

Trustees like Sumner Welles, Henry Steele Commager and Anna Lord

Strauss, formerly President of the League of Women Voters, and an editor like Vera Micheles Dean just naturally attract contributors like Bowles, Schlesinger and James P. Warburg. In the *Bulletin* of May 15, 1952, Warburg is as eager as Molotov to get Germany out of NATO.

This list of citations from the official publication of the FPA, arbitrarily shortened, may end with two recent expressions by Mrs. Dean (both, incidentally, subject to correction on the score of factual accuracy). In the *Bulletin* of February 1, 1956, she hastens to absolve Moscow of any "warmongering" responsibility in connection with the sale of Czechoslovak airplanes and other arms to Egypt:

The only surprise is that Moscow did not take the initiative sooner in an area of historic significance to Russia. . . . As long as Britain sells arms to the Arab countries . . . it will be technically difficult to berate Russia (or Czechoslovakia) for joining in the dangerous game of arms sales.

(A not unimportant point of fact, which goes unmentioned, is that British arms sales have not been on a scale calculated to upset the military balance of power between Israel and its Arab neighbors; but Soviet sales, through Czechoslovakia, seem to aim at precisely this objective.)

The main issue for the United States, in 1956 as it had been in 1955, was whether *this country should relinquish the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu*, which admittedly belong to mainland China, as suggested by some of our staunchest allies, Britain and Canada, and thereby rally world opinion to our side in case we had to defend Formosa against an attack by Peiping, or defend these islands and face the risk that we might be left alone if we should go over the brink into all-out war with Communist China. [*Italics supplied*].

Dull to the eye and hard on the parsing faculty, this sentence is worth studying as an example of the *Bulletin's* slanted interpretation of foreign affairs. The cards are clearly stacked for the reader's decision. He is given a picture of the U.S. holding offshore islands, where it has no business to be, pressed to withdraw by its "staunchest allies," and risking struggle in isolation if the islands are held.

All Mrs. Dean leaves out of her picture is the most important fact in the situation. We are *not* holding

Quemoy and Matsu, and the islands are *not* ours to relinquish. The islands are garrisoned by some 150,000 of the best troops of Nationalist China. And if the time should come when we would feel obliged to defend Formosa, or any other essential outpost in the Orient, the chances are overwhelming, based on what happened in Korea, that the million or more fighting anti-Communist troops under the leadership of Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek (for whom there is never a good word in the *Foreign Policy Bulletin*) will be worth a great deal more to us than our "staunch allies," or "world opinion," or the misnamed United Nations.

If the Ford Foundation goes ahead with a lavish subsidy of the Foreign Policy Association, the pleas of ignorance and irresponsibility will no longer hold good. With so much evidence on the record, one can only assume that the Foundation regards anti-anti-Communism as a desirable political investment.

NATIONAL TRENDS

(Continued from p. 14)

its command. On the strength of previous assertions by the Administration that the recovery of the prisoners was a UN responsibility (which the UN's Secretary General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, would duly discharge), the parents, last summer, filed a formal action with the UN for redress of grievances. The claim was sent to Hammarskjöld, and to the U.S. delegate, Henry Cabot Lodge. Hammarskjöld made no reply; Lodge referred the matter to the State Department. Hence the Wilcox letter.

Understandably, the prisoners' parents are wearying of the buck-passing; but their ordeal may not be over. Should they now file their grievances with the U.S. Government, the State Department can be expected to haul out the authoritative answer to *that* approach. The present President said on December 2, 1954:

. . . those men were there in conformity with obligations incurred under the United Nations, and were there, in fact, in accordance with the specific request and resolution of the United Nations. . . . How the United Nations can possibly disabuse itself of a feeling of responsibility in this matter, I wouldn't know. . . .

Nehru's Road to Communism

In our issue of February 22, we published the valedictory statement of the Society for the Defense of Freedom in Asia, founded in 1952 by a group of Indian patriots for the purpose of fighting totalitarianism and especially Communism. We now have, from one of that society's leading members, the following account of its work and of the persecution which led to its dissolution. For obvious reasons, the author, who writes from Calcutta, prefers to remain anonymous.

I am gratified to know that NATIONAL REVIEW has given so much space to our closure notice. In this country it was ignored by the press — except the Communist press, which published selected portions of it to highlight our attack on Nehru. Here are the details of SDFA's work, which started in April 1952 and ended in December 1955.

1. We published more than 160 anti-Communist books and pamphlets in English, Hindi (our national language), Bengali, Telegu, Kanarese and Malayan. Besides original works of several hundred pages each, the list included reprints of classics like *Forced Labor in Soviet Russia* and translations of *The God That Failed*, 1984, and *I Chose Freedom*. The total number of pages printed runs into nearly 120 million.

2. Our cheapest but most effective method was to write brief letters to the Letters to the Editor columns of all leading newspapers and periodicals in India. This avenue was closed to us by Nehru's personal intervention in December 1952. But by that time we had reached 50 million people through hundreds of letters exposing every aspect of Communism.

3. We carried on a wall-poster campaign and used about 300,000 posters on different occasions, covering practically all leading cities and towns in India. The Reds had to scratch them with their finger nails.

4. In May 1952 we demonstrated outside the Parliament in New Delhi and two State Assemblies, demanding expulsion of Communist members.

5. We organized stalls and moving squads to sell our literature, breaking the Communist monopoly of this type of work. This sometimes meant physical clashes with Red hooligans, who are very aggressive here. But they were beaten off every time.

6. We ran three weeklies — in Ben-

gali, Urdu and Hindi — as well as a monthly in Urdu.

7. We participated in elections against Communist candidates by means of handbills and posters. The non-Communist parties freely used our material. The biggest job was done in the last general elections in Andhra, where the Congress employed not only our research material but also our technique of mass propaganda, to floor the Communists.

8. We demonstrated outside the Soviet Embassy in New Delhi with an open letter asking Stalin to raise the Iron Curtain and to introduce democracy inside the Soviet Empire.

9. We demonstrated outside the Chinese Embassy to denounce the occupation of Tibet.

10. Inspired by our lead, some political people of standing and repute organized a Tibet Committee to campaign against Communist imperialism. To this was added the Kashmir Committee which exposed the Nehru-sponsored Communist government in Kashmir. And the two committees combined to organize the Himalayan Borders Convention in Delhi in the middle of 1954. More than a thousand men and women marched in the streets of Delhi, denouncing Red imperialism on our northern borders and demanding vigilance from the governments

and peoples of India and Nepal. The Convention ended with a mass meeting.

Besides this agitational work, there was silent and steady work of meeting and arguing, writing and briefing. I, personally, travelled the whole length and breadth of the country speaking to student gatherings and sometimes meeting and defeating the Communists in open debate. I issued a standing challenge to any Communist to meet me any day, on any platform.

Now, I give you the story of government persecution under Communist pressure:

1. Both *Pravda* and *Izvestia* attacked our organization as a U.S. spying center in August 1952.

2. In September of the same year the Communist press in India launched a concerted attack, with front-page headlines. The Communists control several hundred papers here, and all of them raised hell against us continuously till we were scotched.

3. The Soviet and Chinese embassies sent weekly protests to Nehru, stating that their countries were being systematically blackened by "hirelings" of the U.S.A.

4. Some Communist editors waited on the Prime Minister with complaints against our Letters to the Editor campaign. We are still at a loss to know what action the Prime Minister took, but in a matter of weeks our campaign petered out because most of the papers blacked out all anti-Communist letters.

5. Nehru came out against us openly in February 1953, when we demon-



strated outside the Chinese Embassy on the question of Tibet. His statement ridiculing and denouncing us was broadcast on two consecutive days.

6. We were using a slogan on all mail covers: "Communism has Nothing to Offer but Chains." In mid-1953 the Communist delegates took up the question in Parliament at New Delhi. They produced some of our stamped covers in the House and demanded to know why the postal department of a neutral country allowed this slogan to be used in a licensed franking machine. After a week, the government inspector came and took away our dies and we could not get sanction for the next slogan for several months. The slogan was: "The Price of Liberty is Eternal Vigilance."

7. Toward the end of 1953 we had organized a stall in an exhibition sponsored by the government of West Bengal. The Communist daily published a strong editorial complaint, and our stall was thrown out.

8. Then came Nehru's bitter campaign against America in December 1953 and early 1954. The excuse was the U.S.-Pakistan Mutual Aid Pact. He was immediately embraced by the CPI, whose papers repeatedly argued that it was no use protesting against the U.S.A. so long as U.S. "spying centers" like the SDFA existed in the country. Overnight our patriotic membership became "traitors," and the traitors became "patriots." Nehru did this dirty job for Moscow, but he was paid handsomely by the U.S.A. for playing this role. I wept tears of blood (the U.S. White Paper on China was still a fresh memory). I could see that Nehru was out to destroy India. But who could stop him?

9. By now the police were on our trail. Our mail was censored, our telephone was tapped and our workers were shadowed. We were "too dangerous" to be left alone.

10. Our organization was discussed with Nehru by the Chinese Government during his visit to China, and Nehru promised to look into it. Immediately after his return I was called up by the Intelligence Chief of West Bengal, who offered me money if I would spy on the Americans in India. If I refused, well . . . But I did refuse.

11. At about this time the Commu-

nist press started mentioning "preventive detention" for "anti-national" people. You know India has a law permitting indefinite detention without trial. Police agents started questioning our workers individually and sometimes threatening them also.

12. Starting on the wrong assumption that SDFA was a spying center with a façade of publishing activity, the police tried to infiltrate our organization. They trained one of their men to pose as an anti-Communist. He brought out an anti-Communist monthly which published advertisements of our books gratis and without our asking. He thought he was being clever but we spotted him immediately. He tried his best to provoke us into anti-government activity, to no avail because we were only anti-Communist.

13. The Kremlin discussed us with Nehru during his visit to Russia. Immediately after his return, his man in the leading English-language daily, the *Statesman*, launched an open attack on the "Indian McCarthys." He revealed that the government had a dossier on "these people" and warned the public against "their modus operandi." Police activity against us was then intensified.

14. Then came the visit of the Soviet leaders. Our offices in Calcutta and Delhi were surrounded by policemen in mufti and an atmosphere of fear was created all around us. At the same time, Nehru succeeded in frightening off our financial backers, and the biggest and the most effective anti-Communist organization in Asia came crashing down.

That is the story. It will be repeated again and again unless the democrats evolve a world fraternity, like the Communists. India is going Communist in thought and values at a terrific speed. Its physical surrender to Communism will not be delayed for long.

Of course, America will do her "duty" by India by encouraging Nehru to go Communist and then publishing a White Paper on the corpse of Indian democracy. That is because America has accepted Marxist values and today has nothing better to offer than Dale Carnegie's *How to Win Friends and Influence People*. The Communists do not believe in ideas and yet they are spending billions to spread ideas. America pretends that

she does not believe in economic determinism, and yet she is squandering billions in foreign aid in a futile attempt to capture men's minds. The roles have been reversed. That is the tragedy of our age. The battle is half lost when we accept the values of our enemy.

The Resistance

(The information in this column, transmitted by a special correspondent, comes from first-hand sources.)

A New Angle

Last October the "Karol" foundry at Walbrzech, Poland, started reconstruction of its railway siding. After extensive work had been done, it was discovered that the projected angle for a turn in the rail line was technically impossible. The construction had to be abandoned as a complete loss. The same sort of difficulty has arisen elsewhere.

Good Reading for East Europe

East Germany is the big transit center for books banned behind the Iron Curtain. From Leipzig and Dresden, the books are forwarded to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania.

Although most of the methods of this operation cannot be disclosed at present, one important example may be cited. A certain Russian book was ordered by Soviet authorities from a firm of printers in Leipzig. Samples of the Soviet-approved red and black cover were forwarded via Berlin from Leipzig to a certain West European city. There the cover was reproduced in quantity, and Czech, Polish and English texts of George Orwell's *1984* were bound in this cover with its Russian title. Through excellent organization and cooperation, these volumes were sent to Leipzig and added to Russian books of identical appearance in the boxes that were shipped east.

By a similar method, several other books, including Czeslaw Milosz' *The Captive Mind* entered East Europe, where they are in wide and active clandestine circulation.

How to Win a Monument

Writing the Declaration of Independence, says the author, is as easy a way to rate a public monument in Washington as having a family who can pay for it

HOLMES ALEXANDER

James Buchanan, a one-term President and conspicuous second-rater, has a monument in Washington—one of only seven Presidents to be so honored.

It takes an act of Congress to raise a public outdoor monument in the capital city. The 49 Americans on pedestals in Washington are our official, legalized heroes. Let's imagine that tomorrow the nation is destroyed and Washington covered with atomic dust. Excavators, digging in the rubble a hundred years hence, would try to reconstruct our history by studying the public monuments. And there is no better way of interpreting a civilization, living or dead, than through its popularly chosen heroes.

So the excavators would be sure to ask: "What did Buchanan have that 30 dead but unmemorialized Presidents didn't have?" The answer is—a rich relative. Buchanan was a bachelor, but he adopted his niece, the charming Harriet Lane, who bequeathed \$100,000 "and its increments" to elevate Uncle Jim to a pedestal. If Congress didn't approve the monument within 15 years of her death (July 3, 1903), the money was to go to the Harriet Lane Home for Invalid Children in Baltimore.

In February 1918, the approaching deadline kicked off a three-hour debate on Capitol Hill. Representative Lenroot of Wisconsin reviewed the dismal record of the 15th President, and cried: "The best thing we can do for Mr. Buchanan is to forget him." Senator Lodge of Massachusetts came near proposing that Buchanan be burned in effigy. But six days before the deadline, President Wilson signed the bill and Uncle Jim became a seated bronze image in Meridian Hill Park with this inscription:

"The incorruptible statesman whose walk is upon the mountain ranges of the law."

There's no telling how the excava-

tors will interpret this meaningless praise; but they might generalize upon American President-worship thus:

"Mathematically speaking, the surest way to win a Presidential monument in America was to get shot at. Washington, Jackson and Grant were battlefield soldiers. Lincoln and Garfield were assassinated. For the rest, it was just as easy to win a monument by writing the Declaration of Independence (Jefferson) as by having a well-fixed niece."

Ironically enough, military personnel don't have to get shot at in order to rate a monument. There's John A. Rawlins, whom Grant called "the most nearly indispensable" officer on the staff. Major General Rawlins, possibly the Army's first public relations officer, got a commission without benefit of military training. He was nearly indispensable because he wrote General Grant's speeches and proclamations and nursed him through periodic spells of alcoholism. Later he was Grant's Secretary of War for a brief five months. Congress raised an eight-foot, \$14,000 statue, now

standing behind the Interior Department. But then a funny thing happened. Grant left office before time for the unveiling ceremonies, and there's no record to show that the statue was ever officially dedicated.

Albert Pike, a Brigadier General, holds the only Confederate monument in Washington. Ever hear of him? Probably not, because Pike, a Massachusetts-born Harvardman, fought one battle, was forced out of the Confederate Army by a scandal, driven to exile in Canada, and indicted for treason in Arkansas. How did he get a monument? He was a Mason. In prewar 1859 he'd been elected Sovereign Grand Commander of the Supreme Grand Council, Southern Jurisdiction of the United States. That did it. By 1898, Congress was willing to vote him a statue—if the Masons paid for it.

There are monuments in Washington to 20 American soldiers and sailors, some of whom deserved the honor and some not. The big point is this: after elevating thirteen Civil War generals and admirals, America stopped immortalizing her military personnel. The Unknown Soldier got a tomb but no monument. Between 1865 and 1945, we fought Spaniards, Filipinos, Mexicans, Chinese, and assorted nationals in two World Wars, without producing a memorialized superman.

Mysterious Visitor

During the summer of 1936, a recurrent ceremony took place before Alexander Hamilton's slim, handsome statue at the Treasury Department. At 10 a.m. a small dark man, possibly a West Indian, would approach the bronze figure of the first Secretary of the Treasury, doff his hat, sit on the pedestal and read from an unidentified book, rise, bow deeply and depart. A sightseers' guide got to wondering what queer incantations were



being offered to Hamilton's sound-money spirit in that year of the New Deal. Finally he accosted the little visitor:

"Why do you do it?"

"Shhh," replied the mystery man, and vanished forever. The spell was broken. The New Deal was re-elected that autumn, and fiscal high jinks, which would have scandalized Hamilton, continued.

Arch-conservative statesmen such as Hamilton used to win all the non-Presidential monuments: Albert Gallatin, Daniel Webster, John Marshall. These four were men of real stature and easily cancel out a pair of senatorial nonentities—McMillan of Michigan and Newlands of Nevada. But as modern times approach, we see Americans putting pedestals under two men of an altogether different sort.

A Good Loser

William Jennings Bryan and Samuel Gompers were the first statesmen to dignify the Labor Movement as a respectable political force in America. But that doesn't altogether interpret their monuments. Bryan was three times defeated for the Presidency. Surely the excavators will find some significance here: America loves a winner, but she also admires good losers. Henry Clay, a greater statesman than Bryan but a poor sportsman, also lost three Presidential elections. When the Whigs didn't nominate him in 1840, Clay got roaring drunk and howled: "I am the most unfortunate man in the history of parties! Always run by my friends when sure to be defeated and now betrayed for the nomination when I or anybody [on the Whig ticket] would be sure of an election." But Bryan always swallowed his disappointment bravely, and in the end it's Bryan, not Clay, who stands in \$46,615 worth of bronze in West Potomac Park.

Gompers' \$117,408 likeness on Massachusetts Avenue is also a memorial to a man who refused to be discouraged or embittered by defeat. As the excavators might summarize:

"When Americans started monumentalizing Labor statesmen, it's safe to say that political leadership had passed from Men on Horseback to Men on Soap Boxes."

There was an in-between stage. As worship of military and political per-

sonnel began to wane, Congress was voting a group of nine monuments to men of much quieter fame.

Ben Franklin, quite properly, heads the list, which begins with inventors and runs through educators. It is a tribute to foreign genius. Robert Fulton, Eli Whitney, Thomas Edison hold down no pedestals; but Marconi of Italy, Daguerre of France and Ericson of Sweden are all heroes by act of Congress.

Concerning the medical profession, the excavators might write:

"Our diggings reveal two statues to American doctors; one a bona fide physician, the other a politico-physician. We judge this to be an accurate ratio. American Medicine, c. 1955, was half-medical, half-political."

Dr. Samuel David Gross came up the hard way to establish himself as a pioneer in surgery. Poor and self-educated, he wrote, taught, lectured, edited medical reviews and practiced widely in Pennsylvania and Kentucky. In 1879, Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia gave him a farewell dinner, supposedly honoring his retirement at 74. But Gross, with five more years to live and work, told the group:

"My conviction has always been that it is far better for a man to wear out than to rust out."

His fellow doctors raised him a small memorial on L'Enfant Square. Significantly, the Act of Congress reads: "Without cost to the U. S."

How different the case of Dr. Benjamin Franklin Stephenson! A regimental surgeon in the Union Army, he emerged from the war with one burning ambition—to organize and utilize the soldier vote. As founder of the

Grand Army of the Republic, Dr. Stephenson practiced more politics than medicine as time went on. He was an avid but awkward seeker of titles. In calling a state convention, he signed himself "Commander of the Department of Illinois," and he called the first national convention as the self-designated "Commander in Chief." His comrades elected other men to both posts. Finally he did become Adjutant General of the GAR. He died in 1873—to rise again in the shape of a \$35,000 granite pyramid for which the U. S. supplied a \$10,000 pedestal. His memorial carries an odd inscription for so forthright an egomaniac: "Who knew no Glory but his country's good."

Excavators will find no religious favoritism in the dug-up monuments of Washington. James, Cardinal Gibbons, a native Catholic, has his statue. So have Martin Luther, a German, and Francis Asbury, the English-born Methodist missionary in America. Oscar S. Strauss, whose \$225,000 family-paid-for tablet stands opposite the Commerce Department, was not a cleric but a lifelong worker for his Jewish race and faith.

Two of the three professors on monuments were Princeton teachers—John Witherspoon and Joseph Henry. The third was a Yale graduate, Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, beloved teacher of the deaf.

Girl with Fawn

Great was the scandal in October 1923, when a fourth educator was officially memorialized. Joseph J. Darlington, a lawyer and judge, was best known in Washington as teacher for 20 years of the Berea Bible Class at the Fifth Baptist Church. His monument, when unveiled, turned out to be a naked girl petting a fawn. Neither resembled Darlington.

"Blasphemy!" cried the Rev. John E. Briggs, Darlington's pastor. "Repulsive," echoed the Rev. John C. Ball of the Metropolitan Baptist Church.

Inquiry proved that the statue had been selected by the Fine Arts Commission in a national contest. To widespread protest a Commission spokesman succinctly replied:

"That's art."

Finally, it appears that Americans occasionally build monuments to persons they like—without much regard



"That's Art"

to professional standing. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow is not a great poet but a beloved one. Archibald W. Butt and Francis D. Millet were men of parts but had no national rating. In a sentimental splurge Congress authorized them a joint memorial shaft, mainly for behaving with great chivalry while losing their lives on the *Titanic*. (Archie Butt was military aide to President Taft. This is clear proof that Maj. Gen. Harry Vaughan, former President Truman's military aide, may some day live in bronze or marble.)

Monumental Feat

Sooner or later the diggers will uncover a monument to the strangest immortal of them all. Alexander R. ("Boss") Shepherd was a Washington plumber, real estate speculator, draft-dodger and political operator. A robust specimen of 26 when the Civil War opened, he served three months in the volunteers and then quit to enter the more lucrative field of Washington politics. As many stay-at-home patriots do in wartime, Shepherd went up fast. He became president of the Common Council at 27; then, in rapid order, a member of the Levy Court, alderman, vice president of the Board of Public Works. In 1873 President Grant appointed him territorial Governor of the District of Columbia.

Boss Shepherd specialized in promoting his home town and his business interests. He also handed out million-dollar, non-competitive contracts to his friends and associates.



He bought an interest in the *Evening Star*, which glorified his exploits in the name of municipal pride and excused his public morals.

The Boss did accomplish one shining feat. There'd been talk of moving the capital to some other city. He settled that argument for good and all. Under his management Washington changed from a muddy, open-sewered Southern town to a place of real beauty—and soaring real-estate values. All might have gone well if the Boss hadn't spent far beyond the legal limit and involved the city finances in hopeless confusion.

At last, even the broad-minded Reconstruction Congress had to take official notice. A committee investigated Shepherd, but the records were too garbled to prove anything except that

the Boss was either a total incompetent or an inspired crook. Since Congress couldn't remove him from the office, the office had to be removed from him. The territorial government was abolished and a commission government established. Grant thereupon named Shepherd as one of the Commissioners, but the Senate refused to ratify the arrogant appointment. Broke and in danger of legal prosecution, the Boss fled to Mexico. But before leaving, he told a reporter:

"The same fellows who have hounded me out of Washington will some day invite me back here again. And the next generation will be fair and just enough to realize what I have done for Washington—and will build a monument to remember me by."

He was right. Only seven years later, on October 6, 1887, Shepherd made a return visit. His friends arranged a parade from the railroad station to his hotel. The *Evening Star* hailed him as a recognized public benefactor. Shepherd went back to Mexico, where he was making a new fortune in gold mining. In 1902 he came again to Washington by invitation—to participate in his own funeral at Rock Creek Cemetery. Five years later the city raised \$10,192.67 by public subscription to put him on a pedestal at Pennsylvania Avenue and 14th Street.

There he stands today. His stomach strains at the buttons of his frock coat. His bronze face stares enigmatically out over the throngs of "the" Avenue, as Washingtonians call it.

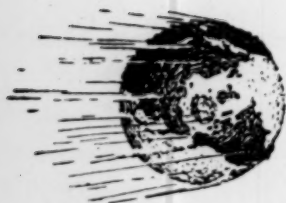
Ignis Fatuus

(Addressed to our Secretary of State, wherever he may be)

Futile Foster,
Flying faster,
To achieve some
New disaster.
Flitting hither,
Flitting thither,
In a never-
ending dither.
Cutting capers
For the papers
Oozing dread and
Direful vapors.
Wreck and riot
All his diet.

What is ever
Mended by it?
Off to Tito,
Off to Cairo,
Like a diplomatic tyro.
Off to Paris,
Off to Berlin,
Off again to
London Town.
Goodness gracious,
Mr. Dulles,
Won't you ever
Settle down?

ELLIS O. JONES



The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

Killing the Corpse

The anti-Stalin campaign, launched at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, is still building up momentum. Throughout the world the leadership of each Communist Party, one after another, is making the appropriate shift, though not without some grinding.

The process is comparable to the change in 1939 from the Popular Front to the Hitler Pact. In at least one particular it takes us back still further, to the period of the liquidation of Party factions in the late '20's. Not since then has the open Communist press recorded such doubts concerning not merely "tactical application" but the basic line itself. In the United States, the tone suggests the reactivation, after 25 years, of functional groupings — specifically, a pro-Foster and anti-Foster division.

So far, the charges against Stalin fall into three categories. 1) Stalin instituted a personal in place of a collective leadership. 2) Stalin weakened the military strength of the Soviet Union by purging a considerable segment of the military leadership, by failing to be on guard against the Reichswehr, and by inept command in the war. 3) Stalin pushed internal terror to irrational, phobic lengths.

Is This the Thaw?

The prevailing explanation for the anti-Stalin campaign runs somewhat as follows. A new leadership headed by Khrushchev-Bulganin is now firmly in the Kremlin saddle. It has perfect confidence in the expanding military and economic power of the Soviet Union. In external policy, it has given up the idea of general war, and is abandoning Stalin's "aggressive" and paramilitary tactics in favor of peaceful coexistence, the Popular Front and economic penetration. In relation to its own people, it is "mellowing," in the manner periodically foretold by the

experts. For the Soviet population, the attack on the personal dictatorship of Stalin, who serves as scapegoat for the evils of the past, becomes a sign of the advent of a milder "collective leadership."

We should suspect this explanation precisely because it does prevail. The prevailing explanation of Soviet strategy has almost always been wrong. This is not only because non-Communists so rarely understand the Communist enterprise, but because Communists are so persistent and so successful at planting illusions in the minds of their opponents.

The currently prevailing explanation is the one that can be of maximum benefit to the Soviet Union. If the non-Soviet world believes it, then the Soviet Union is immunized against military threat. Our worries over future armed subversion, civil war and Communist conquest of new areas subside. A reduction of non-Communist armament and an increase of trade with the Soviet Union become reasonable. Communist Parties can everywhere be accepted as suitable allies.

In other words, if this explanation is accepted, then the Soviet Union and world Communism are granted a virtually free hand.

A Time for Skepticism

Let us keep in mind a few items that have slipped out of sight.

1) Within the Bolshevik tradition, Stalin was not a leftist but a "centrist," bureaucratic and provincial. He rose to supreme power on a backwash of the revolution, under the slogan of "socialism in one country." He followed a defensive strategy, and had to be forced into war (by Hitler) and into expansion (by irresistible vacuums). It was under Stalin, moreover, that the Popular Front tactic was perfected. Thus, repudiating Stalin in the name of a return to Lenin would be a reaffirmation, not an abandonment, of world revolution.

2) In internal policy, the new regime (after an interim) keeps the Stalinist stress on heavy as against consumer industry, and in agriculture plans even more thorough collectivization.

3) The Kremlin, while talking peace and trade, has during the past six months staged violent mass riots in India and Singapore, sustained revolts throughout North Africa, and acted to provoke war in the Near East.

4) The new line is being imposed in the monolithic Stalinist manner.

From Zig to Zag

A first step in wisdom is to forget the prevailing explanation, and to realize that the present turn, like those past, is a maneuver, even if a major one, in the basic development of the Revolution. In retrospect there is always more continuity than at first appears between the Communist zigs and zags.

It is my own opinion that this anti-Stalin campaign expresses the continuing failure of the Communist leadership to solve the problem of the succession. And it is likely to aggravate instead of soften that problem—because to illegitimize Stalin can only weaken, not establish, the claims of his surviving companions. It seems probable that the Khrushchev faction, by vindicating the honor, prowess and autonomy of the military through the repudiation of the author of the Tukhachevsky purge, is bidding for the support of the officer corps.

More generally, the campaign is the outward, ideological phase of a struggle for domination within the Communist elite, a struggle now tending to spill over into the Party ranks, and even into the more advanced elements of the population, such as the students.

As in the case of every big disturbance in Russo-Soviet history, the latent conflict between the Great Russians and the lesser nationalities quickly emerges as a significant factor. This is apparent from the focus of "incidents" in the non-Russian south (Georgia, Armenia and elsewhere in the Caucasus). A major element, still unreported but certain to be most intimately involved, is Mao Tse-tung.

Before this new fight is over, there may be many who will sigh for the good old days of Josef Vissarionovitch.

THE IVORY TOWER

WM. F. BUCKLEY, JR.

The AAUP States Its Position on Fifth Amendment Teachers

On June 8, 1949, the National Education Association issued a formal statement to the effect that members of the Communist Party are unfit to teach. The statement performed at best a ceremonial function. It more or less formally ushered in an era which, I believe, will prove to have been one of the shortest eras ever ushered in. It is on its last legs. It was—again, ceremonially—more or less ushered out on March 21 of this year, in the report of a special committee of the powerful American Association of University Professors which hints that Mere Membership in the Communist Party is not grounds for automatic expulsion.

The 1949 declaration was, one got the impression at the time, more or less forced upon the academic community by public pressure. In time and place, after all, it appeared ridiculous. For here were the trustees of American education making elementary observations about the incapacities of teachers who had thrown in their lot with a movement that had, over the previous thirty years, taken over about one half the world through the exercise of force, violence and guile. So obvious was it to the average man that a Communist had no place on the faculty of a school that the NEA's saying so, in 1949, struck us rather like the pathetic gesture of a retarded child who is anxious to prove to his playmates that he too understands the rules of a game they have been playing for weeks. By 1949, just about everybody, with the possible exception of a few professors and experts on international relations, realized that Communists are inherently disqualified to teach, and to exercise academic privilege. Accordingly, social pressure had begun to work, successfully, on colleges throughout the country. The statement of the NEA, though it commanded public attention because of the majesty of its authors (they included Presidents Seymour, Conant and Eisenhower),

was of as little practical consequence as the formal certification, by the clerk of the House of Representatives, one month after a national election, of the winner of a Presidential race.

But the AAUP report, unlike that of the NEA, signals, in my opinion, not the recognition of a reality, but the formal beginning of a concerted movement to turn back the clock. It signals a drive for massive toleration of pro-Communism and recalcitrance before congressional committees, all under the blanket of academic freedom and tenure. Specifically, the AAUP censured five colleges for firing professors who had pleaded the Fifth Amendment or otherwise refused to cooperate with congressional committees. The report, which sets down the AAUP's position on such matters, is remarkable for its similarity to other such manifestoes of days gone by. Clichés which, one was justified in assuming as recently as a year ago, were so tired that they could never get up and walk again are here in their pristine impudence, parading out of the mouths of academic tyros. Listen to some extracts from the report:

First some straight reign-of-terror talk:

... the readiness of political and economic groups and of individual politicians to play upon the natural fears of the American people, and to suppress legitimate opinions and activities have all combined to produce distrust of persons and organizations thought to be even remotely dangerous and to encourage extreme actions against them.

Then the warning about how political persecution in America threatens to leave us in a poor competitive position vis-à-vis the Soviet Union (where such problems do not, presumably, occur):

... our security and welfare are substantially impaired by the recognized insufficiency of the supply of qualified scientists, engineers and for-

eign service officers and by the human suffering inflicted through unwarranted or crudely conducted investigations and dismissals.

Ex-Communist teachers should not necessarily be expected to divulge to congressional committees or to the FBI the names of former comrades. For teachers are quite naturally inhibited from doing such things due to the "popular prejudice against informers as such." Moreover, "there is also reason to sympathize with a person who declines to aid in the ruin of others who, in his judgment, do not deserve such a fate."

Nor should a teacher be dismissed merely for pleading the Fifth Amendment:

Any rule which bases dismissal upon the mere fact of exercise of Constitutional rights violates the principles of both academic freedom and academic tenure. . . . The variety of reasons which have induced witnesses to invoke the Fifth Amendment, moreover, renders the policy of attaching prima facie blameworthiness to their conduct thoroughly unrealistic.

And, finally, the logical extension of the argument. Not said in so many words, but said in effect: membership in the Communist Party is not, in and of itself, reason to dismiss a teacher. It is regrettable that the academic community should, bowing to the Philistines, ever have thought so:

It clearly would have been better for the health of higher education in this country if academic institutions had refused to be stampeded, and had insisted that competence and satisfactory performance in teaching or research, and good character in relation to these functions, are the matters to be judged when academic tenure is at stake.

Let us pray.

What emerges from all this is that the most influential professional body of university professors has edged over into a position vis-à-vis Communism not easily distinguishable from the romantic position under the aegis of which pro-Communism was tolerated, for all those crucial years, as a matter merely of political preference. A close analysis of the causes of the lack of public confidence in the teaching profession, about which the academic community complains so frequently, would repay the officers of the AAUP.

From Hollywood

MORRIE RYSKIND

The Fallen Idol

If today I am a full-fledged cynic, with all the accoutrements thereof—the granite heart, the jaundiced eye and the querulous insistence on reading the small print before signing any document—I pray you remember I was not always thus. When I was one-and-twenty, I was as big a *schnook* as any Shropshire lad; when I was two-and-twenty (by which time, if memory serves me correctly, even the Shropshire yokel had come to his senses), I was even a bigger patsy. Let's face it: I was a notable instance of arrested development and I was at least two-and-forty before I began looking around and not taking everybody at his face value.

From this time on, true enough, the boy grew older. I used to have a list of heroes—and heroines—that ran into the hundreds. One by one, for one reason or another, I have had to drop them. The women mostly married other fellows and have undoubtedly lived to regret it; the men I had honored developed either clay feet or egg-shaped crania. A month ago, my list was down to three: Christy Mathewson, Bob Taft and Max Eastman.

And now it's just Matty and Taft. And thereby hangs a tale.

I was in college when I first came across *Enjoyment of Poetry*, and the day I read it I put Eastman's name on my honor list, right above Abou Ben Adhem. I still remember vividly a meeting of Boar's Head, Columbia's literary society, where we got so excited discussing Max's book that we forgot to read our own verses—and greater love no undergraduate rhymester can show. Irwin Edman and I used to take walks and quote the book at each other. On gala nights, Irwin and I would go down to Greenwich Village and eat at the Dutch Oven, where Eastman often ate, in the hope of just catching a glimpse of him. We wouldn't have dared to ask for his autograph; we were just happy to see Shelley plain.

Indeed, in my first book, a collection of light verses—published in a mad moment by the otherwise sapient Alfred Knopf and limited, by public demand, to one edition—there is a glowing reference to Mr. Eastman. As you may have gathered, I was an Eastman fan.

Years later, when I went to Hollywood and came head on with the Communist shenanigans, whom did I read to find out what was what? Barmine, Gitlow, Lyons, Kravchenko—and, of course, Max Eastman. When Max came out in '36 to do some work on *Enjoyment of Laughter* I met him at a Hollywood party. This was during the days of the Popular Front and, before the evening was over, Max and I stood alone against a roomful of Hollywood Liberals which included our host. It broke up the party, but it was a good fight. And it sealed our friendship.

So far, so good. And, from '36 to March of '56, I rejoiced in knowing how right I was about Max Eastman: his poetry, his famous essays, his piercing analyses of the Russian revolution, and his recent brilliant book on the failure of socialism—all confirmed my youthful impression. Other idols had gone down the drain, but Max, I knew, was here to stay.

And he was. Until the other day when I took the Great Man to Santa Anita and—*what do you know?*—he can't even read the *Racing Form*. At first, I think he is ribbing me; when I get over the shock, I try to explain—but it's no use. This guy he don't know the difference between a nose and a neck; I show him where a horse does the quarter in 22:3, and he wants to know is this good? I explain in A-B-C terms the difference in speed ratings between Tanforan and Santa Anita, and he threatens to write an article on the "Cult of Unintelligibility." He wants to know why a filly gets five pounds off and a gelding don't get any. And why they start different

places for the six-eights and the seven-eights. In brief, he don't know from nothin'.

All right, so I blow eight bucks on the day and he wins ten. That's only goin' by results and wouldn't happen again in a million years. I tell you a fellow like this don't know the score and, natch, I scratch him off my list as soon as I get home.

I not only scratch him off my list, but I begin to wonder. I ask myself how it is a cookie which he don't know how many furlongs to the mile can be so sure about poetry and socialism? How is it a fellow which he can't tell the difference between Eddie Arcaro and Willie Shoemaker is so sure of the difference between Lenin and Stalin? I give eight to five right now that you dress Lenin and Stalin up in jockey clothes and put 'em on horses, and this monkey don't even know which is the horse.

I don't say I been wrong about a lot of things I been rootin' for: I just say I seen enough to make me wonder whether maybe I should have my head examined for lettin' this bird Max Eastman tout me, that's all.

I see where he is going to do a couple of articles soon for *NATIONAL REVIEW*. Go ahead and read 'em, if you wanna; me I'm gonna take 'em with a grain of salts.

And all these years I've been going around with a terrific inferiority complex because I've never been able to finish *War and Peace*! There's nothing I can do about it: I've tried, but it's like Eastman with the *Racing Form*. Recently, however, Mike Todd and some fifteen others have announced various movie versions. I may see all sixteen of 'em. Maybe I'll do better when it's on a wide screen and in color.

Or maybe I'll wait till they put it on TV, which is my favorite way of absorbing the arts. I'm with Max Gordon, who was one of a group of theatrical men approached by Howard Rogers, the writer on a TV project. "Television," argued Rogers, "is the Theatre of the Future and you boys ought to come in." The other stage folk objected but Max, who has ridden the success trail all the way from vaudeville, agreed enthusiastically, "It's got to be bigger than the films or the stage" he said, "because with TV, you can take your shoes off."

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Six Keys to "Paradise"

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Bertram D. Wolfe calls his useful and well-written book *Six Keys to the Soviet System* (Beacon Press, \$3.75). The keys are not so much keys as they are separate fields of study that turn up useful answers to the fate of millions under Tartar socialism. Anyway, by limiting his figure to six Mr. Wolfe does not necessarily imply a contempt for a larger number of keys. Six is enough, however, for purposes of cohesive and logical exploration. Indeed, an even more resolute man might have reduced the number to a single key without becoming one of those "terrible simplifiers" whom Burckhardt has warned us against.

That single key should be obvious to anyone who has worked in a certain type of large-scale organization. The explanation is simply this: where everyone is forced to look to the man on top for his orders, nothing works when the orders are bad. And, since no man can be an authority in all branches of human knowledge or endeavor, some of the orders are bound to be bad even in the best of circumstances.

They were hardly the best of circumstances when Stalin was alive, as Mr. Wolfe makes plain in his opening section called "First Key: The Struggle for Power." This is a gruesome description of the ways and means Stalin used to take over after Lenin died. It is all familiar enough to anyone conversant with literature about the Soviet system, but the details of the fostering of the Stalin cult do not lose their horrible fascination in Mr. Wolfe's retelling.

Mr. Wolfe is less compelling when he gets around to the supposedly "new" men who have succeeded Stalin. He makes it sufficiently plain that Khrushchev, Bulganin, Malenkov and the rest went along with the *vozhd*, or leader, the "great Stalin," in all his compulsive cruelties and obscene humiliation of sensitive spirits. He also traces the origins of Khrushchev's agricultural policy in Stalin's thinking. But he doesn't tell us enough about the personal equation to enable us to know the meaning of the latest news from Russia—the news about the planned debasement of Stalin's name. Since Stalin never turned on Lenin (at least so far as his public utterances were concerned), and since Lenin never turned on Marx or Engels, the repudiation of the Stalin cult could be something new. And we are still

at a loss to see why the "new" men who have benefited from association with the great *vozhd* should now rush to trample his memory even as they continue the policies which were planned when he was still alive.

Mr. Wolfe fears the Soviet State, and it is quite proper that he should. But on the basis of his own thinking there is little danger that Sovietism can triumph in the long run provided the Western world uses both gumption and common sense in standing up for its own civilization. At the moment when Mr. Wolfe was busy with his first section on "The Struggle for Power," Khrushchev and Company were dispatching shock workers from the cities of European Russia to the dry plains of inner Asia to plow up grasslands which have been immemorially devoted to cattle raising. The old farm areas were in process of being stripped of machines, and seed, and technicians, and hands, to bring fifteen million acres of semi-arid Kazakhstan under cultivation. As Mr. Wolfe says,

if the rains are good, the lands will yield. But when the bad years come—as they will—the results can be disastrous. Moreover, there is something peculiarly insane in the attempt to add to Russia's grain lands by plowing up range lands when the population is suffering from a deficiency in meat, butter, milk and hides. It must never be forgotten by those who wish to combat the legend of the Marxist paradise that the number of cattle in the Soviet Union in 1953 was below the number of 1916, the last year of the Romanovs (and a wartime year, at that). If Russia needs anything, it is more cattle, not less.

The upshot of Mr. Wolfe's pages on Soviet agriculture is that new famines are in the offing. Knowing this, the Western world should remain both wary and adamant. There is no sense whatsoever in propitiating an enemy at a time when he is digging a big trap for himself.

Mr. Wolfe is in his element as critic and historian when he writes about the "second key" to the Soviet system, that of the "coordination of culture." Much has happened since Max Eastman made his brave pioneer study of this phenomenon in *Artists in Uniform*. The history of Russia has been rewritten several times since the mid-thirties to make it conform to Stalin's ideas of what should have been. Ivan the Terrible has been refurbished. Soviet music has been purged and repurged; Soviet writing has been reduced to a species of troglodyte advertising, with new slogans replacing the old at a pace so dizzy that a writer scarcely has time to finish a book before he is called upon to change his orientation once more. Best-sellers have had to be revised from year to year to reflect the changing line, and the author who thinks he has caught the official wink may pay with his life for mistaking a temporary mood for a long-term trend.

The funniest—and also the saddest—story in Mr. Wolfe's book is that of the great Lysenko controversy. At a

nod from the Politburo virtually all of Russia's competent biological scientists were silenced, banished or murdered for thinking well of Mendel's and Morgan's views and controlled experiments in the field of genetics. Any biologist who refused to accept the Lysenko theory that hereditary changes in plants could be determined at will by grafting was in danger of obliteration. But all of a sudden, after Lysenko's "enemies" had been universally purged at the behest of Stalin, the Politburo discovered that Lysenko was talking unmitigated nonsense. It was too late, however, to rehabilitate the laboratories—and the scientists—that had been destroyed.

The ultimate irony of the long and disastrous Lysenko affair came just this last summer, when the Soviets sent delegations of "farmers" to Iowa to buy hybrid seed of a type that had been developed by experiments which had been outlawed in the Soviet Union during the day of Comrade Dr. Lysenko's glory.

Mr. Wolfe finds other "keys" to an understanding of Russia in the militarization of working life, in the "monstrous pressure of millions of slave laborers still hanging over the 'free labor' of the Soviet Union," in the Kremlin's record as an ally and neighbor, in the Soviet methods of conducting elections, and in the general nature of totalitarianism, which kills all voluntary associations and reduces life to one long suspicion of everything that is whimsical, spontaneous and unpredictable. But the real master key is a monolithic fact: collectivism is an impossible way of ordering a decent life. It violates the nature, the basic drives, of the human being.

Mr. Wolfe is a good guide to anything pertaining to the Soviet Union. Unfortunately he isn't quite clear on the subject of the dependence of democratic institutions on a voluntary economic system. His kind words about British socialism would seem to indicate a lingering affection for the Fabian approach. When he says that postwar England "moved ahead with foresight and caution, seeking to carry along what was best in its past and slough off what had been outgrown," he sounds a little carried away with the "wave of the future" idea. Nevertheless, he has written an extremely valuable book.

From Proletariat to Neutariat

The Fiction Factory, by Quentin Reynolds. 283 pp. New York: Random House. \$5.00

At age eleven this reviewer used to sneak second-hand copies of *Street & Smith's Astounding Science-Fiction* and *Doc Savage* magazines into his room; and once, somewhere along the line, he was caught—in true Satevepost cover style—with a copy of *The Shadow* behind his geography book. He therefore read this genial history of America's most enterprising pulp publisher with relish—and the sort of stubborn affection one feels for any outlandish aspect of one's own past.

Even readers who have never felt the coarse texture of pulp paper under their eagerly licked thumbs, ought to have fun with it. It is, to be sure, just a big, anecdotal Happy Birthday present to *Street & Smith* on their first one hundred years of mail-order myth-making. The stories the firm printed about Buffalo Bill, Nick Carter and Frank Merriwell were, again to be sure, trash. But the stories Mr. Reynolds tells about how and why they were conceived are not only fascinating, but make significant social history.

S & S got under way in 1855, when it was still accurate to speak of a proletariat in America. Numerically vast and very poor, its members qualified as S & S targets on three counts: they were literate; they could afford to spend a nickel on their reading matter; they needed to daydream. And each S & S publication was expressly designed to provide daydreams for one or another of their sub-classes.

The *New York Weekly*, for instance, aimed at the millions of shopgirls, chambermaids and waitresses—with stories of poor but chaste young things tempted by wicked lechers. For the adult males, who were already beginning to feel trapped and de-individualized by their urban lives and factory jobs, there were the free-lance, unmechanized adventures of Buffalo Bill. For adolescent, God-fearing apprentices, there was Horatio Alger, Jr.; for their betters who hoped to go to college, Burt L. Standish provided the example of Frank Merriwell. For everyone's hidden insecurity, there were detective stories, in

which a master sleuth hovered omnisciently over the world; and when the earth seemed to be getting smaller and more cramped in every morning paper, science fiction described other worlds to get away to.

The most recent genre is Home-making. Here the readers are the millions of people who now have leisure, money to spend, and a glassy house in the suburbs, but, alas, no personalities of their own in which individual taste can grow. S & S has come to their rescue with flossy layouts and sophisticated editors to tell them how to paint their bedrooms and where to install the TV set.

Mr. Reynolds has subtitled his book "From Pulp Row to Quality Street," implying, I gather, a "rise" in standards. Though I am not sure Home-making magazines are any less grotesque than Western magazines, I am sure of this: inadvertently or otherwise, Mr. Reynolds has described the emergence in America of a new social class. What, in 1855, was the proletariat has become, in 1955, not a numerically larger middle class, but the *central class*—a huge, mild, passive, expertly advised, over-shaven neutariat, around whose edges a fringe made up of the very poor, the very rich and the very cranky is dwindling fast.

ROGER BECKET

Delicate Business

Red Rock, by Gregorios Xenopoulos. Translated by William Spanos. 202 pp. New York: Pageant Press. \$3.00

The author of this little novel, who died in 1951, appears to have been entirely untouched by the dominant influences in modern fiction since World War One. And the world of which he writes seems to have existed apart from modern Europe, for the setting is the island of Zante in the Ionian Sea, ethereally lovely, with its groves of olives, laurels, myrtles, oranges—part of the ancient kingdom of Ulysses, and a naval base for the Greeks and the Crusaders. It was famous in the ancient world for its oil springs and asphalt wells, and it is still an island in a trance, with enameled

blue skies, carriages and horses, sailboats, flowers, wines unexcelled anywhere on earth, and a population noted for the surpassing loveliness of its womenfolk, supposedly the result of the mixture of Italian and Greek blood that resulted from its three centuries of rule by Venice.

The story is slight and sometimes touching. A 37-year-old bachelor, visiting his relatives in their country house at Red Rock, falls in love with his 16-year-old cousin. It is a matter of fugitive caresses, accidental half-embraces while riding, swimming, or crowding into shelter from a rainstorm, of erotic play awkwardly mingled with looking at albums, in a holiday atmosphere of games and picnics that shade into stealthy feelings, touches, pinches, bumpings and sleepless nights of feverish desire and bolder plans for the next day.

The household is one of provincial elegance and modernity, the home of an Englishman who has changed his name from Sanders to Santres—England once ruled this island, as did Russia, France, Turkey and several other powers—and the talk of the children is a queer compound of *wows!* and wisecracks, coupled with an unquestioning acceptance of the moral standards of a devout and acquiescent people. This circumstance appears to be important, for it provides the explanation—the only one—by means of which the girl interprets “the man’s erotic caresses as the affectations of a sprightly, frolicsome and somewhat eccentric cousin.”

What the novel suggests, at its best, is how much vitality still remains in the prewar literary tradition from which it stems. The cultural revolution was an intellectual *coup d’état*, a palace revolution; the depths were unstirred; the *pronunciamentos* of Freud, Marx, Joyce, Proust, Eliot, Gertrude Stein, Einstein and Sartre followed one another in bewildering profusion, to the accompaniment of the sound of rifle shots from the firing squads of their adherents. Elsewhere, however, mankind slumbered in its customary inability to achieve common sense, and even the adherents of the moderns, with rare exceptions, did not follow their teachings in the practical conduct of their lives.

The author of this novel, as I say, seems never to have been touched by the dominant influences of modern

fiction; he appears never to have heard of Freud or Marx, or even of war and revolution. Insofar as he keeps steadily aloof, and faithful to the precepts of an earlier day, the results are all to the good. The sensuous warmth of the setting and situation are effectively communicated, and so is the utter foolishness and shamefaced cunning of the hero. But when our author tries to add something high-toned and sophisticated—something modern—to his old-fashioned story, he stumbles on into awkwardness and artificiality, which at length lead him to disaster. The hero might indeed marry a girl “whom a matrimonial bureau had recently offered him,” but to ask us to believe that his cousin, as here presented, would commit suicide because he had done so, is to ask too much. The preservation of that fading prewar inheritance is a delicate business. A little modernity can blight it completely.

ROBERT CANTWELL

All Too Seldom

Guerrilla Days in Ireland, by Tom Barry. 303 pp. New York: The Devin-Adair Company. \$4.00

Commandant General Tom Barry tells here how he trained and operated the Flying Column of the Irish Republican Army in West Cork, which was perhaps the most successful unit in that victorious Army.

Right triumphs over Might all too seldom in modern history. In the last two centuries, however, British Regular armies have been trounced and routed at least four times by civilian militia: the Spanish Carlists, the Gauchos, the Boers in the first Boer War and finally and most triumphantly by the I.R.A. When it happens the details deserve to be cherished in our memories, the more since there is nothing in the world more beautiful than the gaiety of men fighting against overwhelming odds but convinced of the rightness of their cause and illuminated, from within, by fiery patriotism and invincible religious faith. These shine forth from every page of Commandant General Barry’s rare and glorious book. The only comparable book I know is the autobiography of our Boer General, DeWet, who gave such a headache to the British that, as in Ireland, they could only retaliate

on the women and children and by the unsoldierly burning of farms.

Barry’s tale bubbles with infectious gaiety and reckless good humor. He and his “merry men” raid police barracks and army forts with the hilarity of boys raiding an orchard. Also, however, one gets tears in one’s eyes as one learns of the marvelous devotion and heroism of some of the men and women of whom he speaks, and as one senses the author’s spirit of Christian charity and military chivalry. He forbears, for instance, to name traitors, even 35 years after their death, lest his doing so distress their relatives; and he expresses gratitude to the King’s Liverpool Regiment for not committing the cowardly babooneries of the Royal Essex Regiment. (One of the latter’s commanding officers in Cork lived to justify General Barry’s charge of baseness and abject cowardice by surrendering ninety thousand British soldiers, without firing a shot, to the Japanese at Singapore. That was General Percival, who appears as Major Percival in this book.)

General Barry is most illuminating when he pauses to analyze British press methods. I have often wondered how the British are able to set the world on fire with wholesale prevarications, which end up being accepted as gospel truth everywhere, and mobilizing the English-speaking world against its own interests. One recent instance is the record-breaking lie in which the late George Steer had *Guer-nica* destroyed by German bombers, where what actually happened was that a third of it, comprising a valuable arms-factory, was dynamited by the retreating Leftists. Such atrocity stories are a favorite British weapon, and the British told them to the best advantage in the Irish war.

The triumphant note on which the book ends is modified by a hint of tragedy to come—that is, the deaths of men like Michael Collins as a result of the victorious army’s splitting-up into cliques. I have seen the tragic effects of Celtic individualism and clique-splitting at first hand. There was never a finer body of men than O’Duffy’s volunteers in the Spanish War. They were lions. Yet because of political feuds between the officers they were incapacitated as a fighting force and had to be returned to Ireland, though those who remained and joined the Legion were fine soldiers.

The message of this book is all-important to us in Europe, who live under the threat of invasion and occupation. Given faith and patriotism, an efficient fighting force can be trained inside a week as the West Cork Flying Column was trained, or as the seventy thousand Carlist *Requetes* were trained, who in 1936 prevented the Iron Curtain from extending to Lisbon.

Commandant General Barry's book is worthily honored by a preface by Mr. Eugene F. Kinkead.

ROY CAMPBELL

Divinity on the Make

Ambassador Extraordinary: Clare Booth Luce, by Alden Hatch. 254 pp., 16 plates. New York: Henry Holt and Co. \$3.75

If only this were the fifteenth century, Mr. Hatch might have produced an epic—one of the pseudo-epics that the minor Humanists too frequently manufactured for paying patrons. It would have opened with a scene in which the Olympians devise bigger and better omens to alert the world to the advent of a new divinity. We should have been told that Dia Clara was the daughter of Plutus by Echo, and that the Parcae had destined her to be the bride of Chronos. Her wondrous progress through the world would have been described in close imitation of the riotous conquest of Asia by Dionysus. And there would have been a vision of her ultimate apotheosis.

Mr. Hatch, writing in the twentieth century, has chosen to address his

book to shopgirls. Mrs. Luce, they will be pleased to learn, wears blue mink and was once mistaken for a prostitute in the native quarter of Biskra. How remarkable it is, they will be told, that "two such sophisticated, egocentric, and spoiled people as Clare Brokaw and Harry Luce fell so unpremeditatedly [sic], so romantically, so *vernally* in love. Not that Clare succumbed immediately. She tried to escape—from Harry or herself. She rushed off to Havana to give him time to cool off." Shopgirls will read on breathlessly. Other readers will not reach this page.

We should not be so unfair as to judge Mrs. Luce in terms of what is said in this preposterous book. She is, after all, a woman, and an undeniably pretty one at that. She has dared to speak harshly of our Communists. We will remember with gratitude that a few years ago, when newspapers, lecture halls, and the ether were filled with the eerie chortlings of the Weird Woman from Dutchess County, Mrs. Luce offered to both eye and ear a refreshing contrast. But none of this will justify our accepting Mr. Hatch's estimate of her—especially since, by becoming an Ambassador, she has obliged us to judge her on other grounds.

We have access neither to the secret files in Washington which contain her dispatches nor to the secret files in Moscow which, in all probability, contain fairly exact copies of them. We cannot say how frequently or how earnestly, if at all, she warned Mr. Dulles that American policy is forcing Europe to submit to Russia. We do not know what logical remedies she proposed in vain, what blunders she protested. We do not even know whether Mrs. Luce has discovered what any open-minded person with access to cultivated circles can discover in ten days in Europe; namely, that conservative Europeans regard the United States with mingled incredulity, derision and despair, and that for this attitude they have sufficient reasons.

Mrs. Luce can use cipher to smuggle such news through to Washington, and we can only indulge the hope that she has done so. But if she has, then surely it is not her sex which makes her an extraordinary member of the diplomatic service, and not her sex which gives her an extraordinary opportunity to attain the further political

honors Mr. Hatch wishes for her. She can appeal openly to those Americans who find defeat an unsatisfactory substitute for victory—and without help from Mr. Hatch.

REVILO OLIVER

Du Tout

Pedigree of a Nitwit, by Marguerite Sitgreaves Aimi. 232 pp. New York: Vantage Press. \$3.50

Mrs. Aimi has collected a series of anecdotes about herself and her ancestors. Some of them are amusing. Her style is a series of monotonous sentences, each as simple as possible. She may not have heard that writing is an art. Or perhaps she writes for the simple-minded. They like invertebrate prose. We do not.

R.P.O.

That Man Again

The Man With Three Faces, by Hans-Otto Meissner. 243 pp. New York: Rinehart and Company. \$3.50

This book would seem to be a popular rewrite for the German public of General Willoughby's book about Richard Sorge. It is more lively than Willoughby's documented and authoritative *Shanghai Conspiracy*, but adds little or nothing besides "imagination" and romance to our knowledge of Moscow's master spy in the Far East. Indeed it reads rather like an Edgar Wallace spy story—all complete with beautiful girls described in detail.

The author, who was a junior attaché at the German Embassy in Tokyo, knew Sorge, liked and admired him, and no more suspected him of being a Communist than did the rest of the German Embassy staff. This, however, is easier to forgive than his naiveté and his lack of information, which enables him to write that "the men the Kremlin picked were chosen irrespective of race and creed"—as if a Communist could have a creed other than Communism! Von Meissner adds an epilogue suggesting that Sorge is still alive thanks to an exchange of captured spies between Japan and Russia. But he has little evidence to offer for this statement—merely the contention that Sorge's former Japanese mistress, who had betrayed him, caught a glimpse of him in Shanghai in 1947.

F.U.

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To the Editor

"Witty and Muscular"

Willmoore Kendall's column is wonderful, and everything William Schlamm puts his hand to is first-rate. The Buckley-Kirk tandem on education is the best thing on the subject in print, and the Bozell-Jones coverage of U.S. politics is great. . . .

The best part of all is your editorial policy which is, as promised, witty, muscular and outspoken. . . .

THOMAS J. MCINTOSH

Geneva, Switzerland

The Truman Memoirs

Mr. Burnham's philosophical and psychological analysis of the Truman (if you will pardon the expression) Memoirs [March 14] rings very true in the ears of this psychologically oriented reader. Perhaps it would be better if individuals became convinced of their own existence and worth before taking over positions of social and political prominence, so that they would not have to dramatize their feelings of inadequacy on such a large and vital stage as that of national and international affairs.

Los Angeles, Cal.

RICHARD DE MILLE

Can't Stomach Chayefsky

We . . . thank you for the piece by Mr. Schlamm about Paddy Chayefsky and his productions [March 14]. We were beginning to believe that something was wrong with us as we just couldn't stomach them and yet high praise seemed to be coming from all directions. . . .

Vista, Cal.

C. W. STEVENSON

From Wayne University

Inasmuch as Dr. Russell Kirk devoted his column of March 21 to a discussion of Wayne University, you may be interested in a comment from one who is a student at Wayne University, an admirer of Russell Kirk, and a subscriber to NATIONAL REVIEW—apparently an anomalous position from Dr. Kirk's viewpoint.

While I do not defend much of what passes for education at Wayne University, I am afraid that Dr. Kirk has not been quite fair. . . . He neglects to point out that Wayne University is

one of only three institutions in Michigan whose academic standards are high enough to maintain a Phi Beta Kappa chapter.

Detroit, Mich.

RUSSELL PALMER

The Southern Issue

In the March 21 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW, you charged . . . an editor of America with expressing viewpoints which tend "to obstruct an understanding" of the issue of the South and "to polarize the warring camps." You blame non-Southerners for their "stubborn" refusal to recognize the nature of the South's resistance. . . . The issue, you say, is not whether segregation is the answer, "merely the fact that the South believes it to be."

Well, sir, on merely that fact one can justify murder. . . . The issue, it seems to me, is whether or not the law of the land, the Constitution, will be accepted and applied in the South. No matter who supported the ruling, whether they be Communists or Catholics, pinks or Protestants, black or white, it was a legally and morally sound decision.

Bronx, New York

EDWARD T. WELCH

Not Senator Kefauver

Since I did much of the research for one of Kefauver's resolutions on "Question Period" for the House . . . I would like to suggest some factual corrections in the February 29 issue . . . in which Mr. Peter Crumpet said that Kefauver "introduced the bill which became the Legislative Reorganization Act." [Actually] Mike Monroney, co-chairman of the committee to reorganize Congress, did the job. . . .

[Again, the writer spoke of] "Boss Crump, tyrant of Memphis and symbol of municipal venality." Mr. Crump unquestionably was in part responsible for building a formidable Democratic Party organization, but neither he nor his supporters in office can be called venal, nor was the regime corrupt in the ordinary meaning of the word. . . .

Chattanooga, Tenn.

FRANK W. PRESCOTT

The Makarios Career

With reference to the Cyprus trouble, I wonder if you have considered in its proper light the meteoric career of Archbishop Makarios. . . . In 1938 at the age of 25 he went to Athens to study at the University, and stayed on there during the war studying law and engaging in underground activities. In 1946, at the age of 33, he was suddenly ordained a priest, and departed thereupon for Boston, where he studied sociology and theology at Boston University. The funds for this were furnished from "ecumenical" sources.

In 1948, in absentia, and without ever having performed his priestly duties, and with only two years of part-time theological study, he was ordained a bishop. He thereupon returned to Cyprus and launched immediately into the enosis campaign, hardly a spiritual one. In 1951, only five years a priest, and at the ecclesiastically tender age of 38, he was ordained an Archbishop and was seated upon the ancient throne of St. Barnabas. Offhand, I would say that this was a case where the mission made the career.

Austin, Texas

FREDERICK JOHNSTON

The Eisenhower Article

Re "Mr. Eisenhower's Decision and the Eisenhower Program" [March 21] I deem it one of the most penetrating and amusing essays read in many a moon. . . . It is, of course, terrible in its implications. . . .

Stamford, Conn.

PHILIP N. DUMBRILLE

I most particularly wish to congratulate you on your "Mr. Eisenhower's Decision." You have expressed my feelings exactly. As regards Eisenhower versus Stevenson, Kefauver, Harriman or Truman, there can be only one decision. That, of course, is for Eisenhower.

If, however, lightning does strike and they can get somebody who is an honest man and conservative, I believe he will whip Eisenhower hands down.

New York City

FRANK DE GANAHL

Mr. Caldwell on Singapore

The recent article on Singapore by . . . John Caldwell [March 14] was probably one of the best published along that line.

GENERAL HO SHAI-LAI
Chinese Delegation, United Nations